The Outlook

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THE STORY OF THE WAR:
THE SUSSEX CRIME

Once more a critical position has arisen as between our Government and Germany because of violations of the laws of the high seas. At this writing the Sussex case has been made the subject of indirect inquiry through our Ambassador in Germany, but no formal demand has been made upon Germany for an explanation. On the other hand, Germany, also indirectly, has intimated that if the Sussex were destroyed by a submarine the act was contrary to the general orders issued to submarine officers and would be disavowed and punished. There is no doubt that the Sussex was unarmed; that she was a passenger ship (she has been called a sea ferry-boat between France and England); that her destruction, whether by submarine or mine, was contrary to the law of nations and atrocious in its character; that a number of Americans were on board and were put in jeopardy of their lives; that some of them were seriously injured, and that at least one of them is still in danger.

It is not certain whether it was a submarine or a floating mine that destroyed the Sussex. There is what seems to be a strong body of evidence to the effect that the work was done by a submarine, including, it is said, the testimony of the captain and of others that the approach of the torpedo was seen before the ship was struck. We hope that in the inquiry as to this incident our Government has included a request to be informed as to whether Germany would justify the destruction of an unarmed passenger ship by floating mines. The placing of floating mines in the high seas has always been considered a villainous thing to do, as well as contrary to law. Of late there have been rumors that Germany proposed to justify this very thing. When the Moewe returned to German waters, it was generally reported that she had dropped floating mines as she secretly passed through the North Sea, and it was said also that the destruction of the British battle-ship Edward VII was due to this cause.

Added to the many cases in which of late merchant ships, including not a few neutral Scandinavian or Dutch merchant ships, have been attacked, the Sussex incident, unless new evidence gives it a totally different aspect, seems to indicate that it is useless to try to induce Germany, by persuasion, argument, or even threat—as in our several notes—to limit her sea activities within law, reason, and humanity.

IN FIELD AND COUNCIL

The week (March 22–29) has not been one of notable activity in the battlefield. Around Verdun little progress was made by the Germans in the fifth week of their offensive. The only infantry assault of any note, made on March 28, was to the northwest of Verdun, in the neighborhood of Dead Man's Hill, and the front lying between Malancourt and Haucourt. This assault of German infantry was driven back with heavy losses by the French. The Russians continued their violent and continuous offensive in the general region between Dwinsk and Wilna, hurling attack after attack on General von Hindenburg's line; and they were active also in Bukowina and Galicia. The Germans claim to have held their own in all these places, but are evidently sustaining a hard defense against a vigorous assault daily renewed. By the British an assault was made on a German salient near Ypres, following extensive mine explosions; the German reports admit that gains were made, while the British claim a total of six hundred yards gain through both the first and second lines of trenches.

One of the most important incidents of the week was the great conference of the Allies in Paris. It was attended by representatives, military as well as diplomatic, of France, England, Italy, Russia, and Servia. Among the great military figures there were General Joffre; Sir William Robertson, Chief

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of the British Staff; Count Cadorna, Chief of the Italian Staff; Earl Kitchener; and others. The conferences were naturally secret, but dealt with both military and economic problems, were harmonious, and, according to all accounts, will be followed by definite practical steps to co-ordinate the war among the different nations. The Paris "Temps," summing up, said, on the last day of the conference:

The Allies are fully aware that harmony of operations on all fronts is the price of victory. They are willing to make mutual sacrifices. When the conference adjourns to-night, the world's mightiest preparations for war will be complete. All our resources will be in play. The Allies will be able to hasten, under the best conditions, the end of the nightmare that has been weighing down civilization for twenty months.

THE VIRGINIUS AND THE LUSITANIA: A COMPARISON

In a recent speech before the Chamber of Commerce of New York Mr. Joseph H. Choate was roundly applauded when, in speaking of the Lusitania massacre, he said:

You do not suppose that in the Administration of any of our great Presidents of the past any such insult, any such attacks, any such gross violations of the dignity and the value of American citizenship, could have occurred as have been witnessed during the last eighteen months. Certainly it could not have been done during the Administration of George Washington. You do not suppose that in Lincoln's time any such insult could have been given to American citizenship—or in the Administration of Grant or Cleveland. You don't believe that in Roosevelt's Administration—

The cheers of the audience left Mr. Choate's sentence unfinished.

In reference to this statement of Mr. Choate's, the Virginius case, which occurred during Grant's Administration, has been recalled. The New York "Evening Post," for instance, reminds Mr. Choate that "on October 31, 1873, a ship flying the American flag was seized on the high seas by a Spanish gunboat and taken into the port of Santiago de Cuba, where fifty-three of her passengers and crew, many of them American citizens, were stood up against a wall and inhumanly shot to death." And it says that President Grant withstood the clamor for war, took a long time to settle the case, and reported to Congress with satisfaction that Spain kept her promise to pay an indemnity for the murder of the Americans. The "Evening Post" then remarks ironically that "in a Republican President, who was at the same time one of the greatest soldiers of his day, it must have been quite correct. The only incorrect thing is for a Democratic President to imitate the example of General Grant."

That it is possible to quote the Virginius case as a precedent for the Lusitania case, even though the "Evening Post" acknowledges that the one is not "on all fours" with the other, indicates how callous we have grown under the successive outrages against American citizens and non-combatants on the Lusitania, the Arabic, the Ancona, and, latest of all at this date, the Sussex.

Between the case of the Lusitania and the Virginius there is no analogy whatever. The Virginius was a vessel that conveyed a party of filibusters into Cuba to fight against Spain. For years such filibustering expeditions had been going from the United States to Cuba. In order to leave the American port the Virginius had to elude the American authorities. Before she reached her destination she was seized on the high seas near Jamaica by a Spanish war-vessel. At Santiago the crew and passengers were condemned to death by the Spanish authorities, and fifty-three of them, including eight Americans, were executed. Whether the execution of these people was justifiable or not, it was carried out in accordance with the forms of military procedure. The Americans were not ordinary non-combatants, but were to all appearance members of a filibustering expedition. The fact that Spain observed the forms of law and that the vessel was engaged in an illegal expedition did not prevent intense indignation in the United States. The President was not content with sending a note of protest, but authorized the Secretary of the Navy to prepare the navy for any emergency, and demanded reparation of Spain. Within a month a protocol was signed in Washington by the Spanish Minister and the American Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, in which Spain agreed to restore the vessel and to make amends.

We leave our readers to compare this case with that of an unarmed, peaceful merchant vessel, containing hundreds of innocent non-combatants, sunk without warning and without the pretense of observing even the forms of law or humanity, and the consequent massacre of men, women, and little children. And we leave our readers also to compare

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the course of President Grant with the course pursued by our Government during the past year of repeated outrages. Whatever defense may be presented for the course of our Government, it cannot be based on any action or lack of action on the part of President Grant.

THE STATE MILITIA AND THE STATE POLICE

Our readers know how thoroughly convinced The Outlook is that the country must come to a genuinely democratic form of universal military service; not for the purpose of encouraging militarism or war, but in order to prevent both and to insure peace and democracy. Instead of this, Congress is considering the experiment of a so-called Federalized State militia. The Hay Bill, which embodies this experiment, has passed the House of Representatives, and is now before the Senate.

In addition to the defects and dangers of this experiment pointed out by Mr. Eric Fisher Wood in a brief article in this issue, there is another grave difficulty in the militia system that must be met by State action. Even under the proposed plans of the Hay Bill the State regiments will still be under the necessity of police duty within the several commonwealths. This means strike and riot duty, and is probably the most effective means of depleting the ranks of the State militia which could be devised. Whatever, theoretically, the men ought to think, or whether they ought to regard the responsibility as that of the Governor who called them out rather than their own, the fact remains that the young men of the State militia have never relished the task of shooting into a crowd of their suddenly excited neighbors and fellow-citizens. And by the very circumstances of their life among these neighbors and fellow-citizens they are not detached enough ever to be an effective police instrument.

A concrete illustration of what we are writing about is afforded by the recent experience in the city of Buffalo. The New York regiments enlisted there have long been below normal strength. The Sixty-fifth, for example, which should have had from eight hundred to a thousand men in it, has been below five hundred. Under the pressure of recent National anxiety, a city-wide campaign was inaugurated, under very favorable auspices, to bring the Sixty-fifth up to a normal footing. Twenty-one thousand letters, instinct with patriotism, were sent to selected lists of young men. A great mass-meeting was held, attended by thousands, at which the Governor of the State spoke, and in connection with which every reasonable effort was made to enlist the enthusiasm of the city. And what has been the result? The strength of the Sixty-fifth Regiment is still under seven hundred. And a chief reason given in opposition to enlistment was the necessity of police duty in the case of a strike, which at that very time indeed happened to be imminent among the many thousands of skilled workmen in the city of Buffalo.

All States should follow the example of Pennsylvania and a few other commonwealths, and turn over the duties connected with strike and riot and disorder within the State to a highly specialized State police. There must be absolute differentiation between State militia duty and State police duty. It is for this reason that we believe the bill for the creation of a State police now pending before the Legislature of the State of New York should have early passage.

RUSSIA AND FRANCE

Any discussion at this time of the political and diplomatic relations of the various European Powers after the war is perhaps largely speculative, but is none the less interesting. The first problem of the anti-Teutonic Allies is to win such a victory that they may have the opportunity of jointly stating the conditions under which Europe is to enjoy peace in the future. But, nevertheless, the diplomatic and political factors of the war cannot be ignored. The recent conference in Paris of the leaders of the anti-Teutonic Allies is indicative of this fact. Nor are the anti-Teutonic Allies alone in facing these international diplomatic problems. We are sometimes apt to forget that Germany is not fighting alone for Teutonic supremacy. She has the demands and interests of Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria to consider, and there are many indications that the diplomatic unity of the Teutonic Allies is lessening while the diplomatic unity of the Anglo-French Allies is growing firmer. We published some weeks ago an interview which Mr. Gregory Mason, of The Outlook's staff, had in Petrograd with Sergius Sazonoff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. In this interview Minister Sazonoff very significantly indicated the diplomatic difficulties which he had

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to face, but which he also believed are being steadily surmounted. A trusted correspondent of The Outlook writes to us from France regarding Franco-Russian relations as follows:

"I especially want to compliment The Outlook and Gregory Mason on that interview with Sazonoff. It has, I think, been more widely translated and commented upon in the European press than any other American magazine article. It was a fine piece of work.

"Sazonoff in his recent speech to the Duma spoke more definitely about Poland than ever before. The French have a 'traditional friendship' for the Poles, and all the liberal and progressive French people are very sincerely interested in their fate. Many of the Paris papers took Sazonoff's speech as a text and went into rhapsodies over Poland's happy future. But they apparently took too much for granted. The Russian Embassy complained that such expression of opinion was undue interference in the neutral problems of an ally, and the French Censor has sent out a circular to the papers forbidding the publication of any discussions of the Polish problem which have not been previously approved by the Russian Ambassador.

"This is significant for two reasons: first, because Russia takes the attitude that the Polish question is purely internal and does not concern her allies; and, second, because it shows that Russian influence with the French Ministry is strong enough to dictate a bizarre order of this kind.

"The incident also throws some light on the diplomatic stand which Russia is going to attempt to maintain in the council of the Entente Allies. So far, letting Russia have her own way has been uniformly disastrous. She is largely responsible for bringing Turkey into the war; her Balkan policy drove Bulgaria into the German camp and has checkmated all the efforts of France and England to bring Rumania in on their side. If Russia could be persuaded to accept an international neutral régime for the Straits [our correspondent means, of course, the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles, which constitute the passageway from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean] and to give up her claims of predominance in the Balkans, the Balkan Federation could be reorganized and half a million fresh bayonets thrown on Austria's back. Russia, or at least a Russian party, resists these suggestions of common sense by a threat of a separate peace, as is indicated in Mr. Mason's interview."

The Russian problem is not one of the least of the problems which reorganized Europe will have to face. Nevertheless we think there is more hope for international and individual freedom in the present temper of Russia than in the present temper of Germany. There is a large party in Russia insisting with growing power upon human rights and international fair play. A similar party in Germany is to-day in a hopeless minority, as the great Socialist leader Liebknecht has himself said in an interview in these pages.

THE PURSUIT OF VILLA

The reports that come from General Pershing's headquarters indicate that, although Villa was at last accounts (March 29) in one of the mountain canyons known as the Santa Catarina, there exist strong hopes that he may be followed up and captured, or perhaps more likely blockaded at both ends of the pass—on the western side by troops of Carranza which are said to be approaching that end of the pass, and on the eastern side by our own forces. The Santa Catarina Canyon is not far north from the railway town of Madera, and as we write there are reports that an American detachment has reached Madera after occupying Namiquipa, which is perhaps thirty miles east of Madera, and through which Villa undoubtedly passed. If these facts are as just stated, it would certainly seem that Villa's force is cut off by American troops so far as regards the east and the south, and that he has only before him the mountain passes running westerly through the Sierra Tarahumare, which is an extension of the Sierra Madre Mountains; beyond, to the west, lie the plains of Sonora, where it ought to be Carranza's part to blockade or capture Villa.

Altogether our forces marched and rode some two hundred and fifty miles from Columbus to Madera. When it is considered that they have had no railway transportation, that all supplies have been transported by motor car, that it has been necessary to keep up the lines of communication, and that the country is difficult in itself and terribly wearying because of sand and winds, the achievement is a notable one. It is evident that Villa has been harder pressed than he expected. He has left his wounded behind him, has strewn the road with dead horses, and has forced

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into his service unwillingly Mexican young men from the villages through which he has passed. Whether his knowledge of every crook and cranny of the mountains will save him from cavalry pursuit remains to be seen. As we write it is reported that a special cavalry corps has been made up of men selected for physical ability and skill as riders to dash after Villa whenever his exact locality is known.

The history of the operations of the week has emphasized and re-emphasized the prime necessity of the use by the United States of the Mexican railways for transporting supplies. It has not been proposed to use the railways for transporting troops, although it may be pointed out that American railways were used by permission at one time for the transport of Carranza's troops against Villa to another part of Mexico. It is a patent absurdity for a force two hundred and fifty miles from our border to rely for its supply on motors, for its mail and telegrams chiefly on our weak aviation corps, and on a wireless service which is unsatisfactory because of climatic conditions. It is astonishing that, at least two weeks after the expedition set out, no arrangement had been reached with Carranza for use of the railways. Carranza has not directly refused the request, but apparently, at this writing, insists in treating this matter of immense importance, together with many other minor ones, in a general protocol governing all questions which may arise between the two countries. This so-called protocol is still, as we write, under negotiation. The railway matter ought to be pushed through separately at once.

There have been no serious attempts by Mexicans to attack or interfere with our forces. On March 28 Secretary Baker, of the War Department, issued this statement: "Despatches received by us to-day and last night, while meager and dealing largely with technical matters, indicated continued and growing good will on the part of the people of Mexico toward our expedition. Its object is being more and more thoroughly understood, and we have no despatches indicating cause for apprehension."

THE PRESIDENT ON SINISTER INFLUENCES

President Wilson has issued a statement warning the country against the "sinister and unscrupulous influences" which, as he in general terms alleges, have been put out by "persons all along the border who are actively engaged in originating and giving as wide currency as they can to rumors of the most sensational and disturbing sort, which are wholly unjustified by the facts." "The object of this traffic in falsehood," he adds, "is obvious. It is to create intolerable friction between the Government of the United States and the *de facto* Government of Mexico for the purpose of bringing about intervention in the interest of certain American owners of Mexican properties."

There are two important omissions in this statement. In the first place, the acts complained of are not specified; in the second place, the persons or associations by whom they are supposed to have been made are not named. As to the first, there is no question that there have been absurd and irresponsible rumors in the press about Mexican affairs—there always have been, as far back as we can remember. Such absurd statements as that which appeared last week, to the effect that Carranza had seven thousand cavalry on our border without any ostensible reason, are simply typical of the sensational talk of yellow newspapers and of excited people along the border. No doubt, too, such rumors may sometimes be fostered by people who have a personal interest in precipitating trouble between the two countries, or who, like many Americans in Cuba during our occupation, are insistent upon immediate occupation and annexation. Such people do not represent any organized force of thought or action. That there is a systematic attempt by propagating false rumors to throw the United States into a false and impossible position we do not for a moment believe. And this leads to the other and more important omission in the President's statement. In making such charges it is only right and fair to name the persons, the organizations, or the newspapers that are thus deliberately charged with what comes pretty near to being dishonor and treason. In a case like this definiteness in accusation is especially important for two reasons: first, because the country has a right to be informed; and, second, because as long as the charge is vague many innocent persons may be suspected unjustly of exercising these "sinister influences."

Commenting on the President's statement, Senator Fall, of New Mexico, points out the danger of misrepresenting especially the people of the border, by statements without

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sources of information, and declares that this has been a just cause of complaint in all the President's dealings with Mexico. In particular Senator Fall calls attention to the refusal of the President to give publicity to the reports of Duvall West and the Brazilian Minister, or "to give to the Senate any information whatever as to why he recognized Carranza, except to give certain documents prepared by Arredondo or Carranza." When, however, Senator Fall intimates that some private or secret interest brought about the recognition of Carranza, he but follows the example of the President which he deplores. Nothing is gained by such an exchange of suspicion and innuendo.

AVIATION AND THE ARMY

The pursuit of Villa's forces has been seriously handicapped by the lack of provision on the part of our Congress for an adequate aeronautic service. The aviator is the only scout who can venture over Mexican soil without facing a treacherous death. The situation which confronts the infantry or cavalry scout across the Mexican border has been thus stated by General Funston:

> Villa parties will at times surprise these scouting parties. In ordinary warfare our men might, if hopelessly outnumbered and the resistance was futile, surrender with safety. To surrender to Villa, however, would be worse than suicide. Villa's men will kill every American they can lay hands on. Every encounter with them means a fight to the death for our men.

In such a campaign as has been undertaken against Villa one aeroplane, it has been estimated, is worth one thousand men. Notwithstanding the condition which confronts us in Mexico and the lessons of the present war in Europe, Congress has failed to take any action to provide a sufficient air service. There are no funds available for this arm at present, and the next appropriation (not yet sanctioned by Congress) will not become available until the end of June. Furthermore, the situation is complicated by the fact that the army is so extremely short of officers for all branches of the service that it cannot increase the air service without seriously hampering other arms. Last year Congress did allow sixty officers for aviation, but it was impossible for the War Department to obtain eligible officers to detail for this service.

To provide the country with an aeronautical reserve both of machines and trained aviators, the governors of the Aero Club of America, 297 Madison Avenue, New York City, have started a public aeronautical subscription (checks to be payable to The National Aeroplane Fund) similar to the French and German subscriptions of 1912 and 1913. The Aero Club describes the results of these French and German subscriptions as follows:

> The French and German aeroplane fleets in 1912–14 were built largely by public subscriptions and through public interest. In February, 1912, soon after the first employment of aeroplanes in the French military maneuvers demonstrated the potentiality of the air service, the French Government failing to allow the appropriations necessary to secure an adequate aeronautical organization for the French army, a public subscription was started.
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> In every part of France, the people—men and women, rich and poor, young and old, and of all beliefs and factions—united their efforts with the press and political, social, professional, and sportive organizations, and all contributed their share to give France a large aerial fleet. . . . The public interest created by the subscription was tremendous and led to the immediate consideration of the aeronautical needs of France by the Government. By April, 1914, the French army possessed 1,200 aeroplanes and 28 dirigibles, and most complete and efficient equipment.
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> The German public subscription was started by the Aerial League of Germany in 1912 and brought 7,234,506 marks. The purpose of the League was to train within the shortest time as large a number as possible of aviation pilots to form a reserve and to encourage the general development of aviation in Germany. . . . The developments due to the efforts of the Aerial League led the Reichstag to pass a plan providing for an expenditure of $35,000,000 for military aeronautics in the following five years.

Already the Aero Club has arranged for the training of twelve licensed aviators on high-powered aeroplanes, such as are needed for service in Mexico, and through its efforts twelve officers of the National Guard of as many States have been detailed to go to aviation schools to learn to fly. It costs between $400 and $750 to train each aviator, and between $8,000 and $10,000 each for high-powered military aeroplanes.

The immediate aim of the Aero Club is to raise $100,000 for the purchase of military aeroplanes which will be turned over with competent aviators to the War Department for the Mexican campaign. When that is brought to a conclusion, these aeroplanes will probably be used for the training of the militia of the different States.

An interesting example of how this fund is

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Pease in the Newark Evening News

NO EASY SEARCH

Ireland in the Columbus Evening Dispatch

IT'S SOME JOB TO GO INTO A DARK CELLAR FOR A MAN

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE MEXICAN PUNITIVE EXPEDITION

Kirby in the New York World

HOW COULD YOU THINK I DID IT?

HOLLAND'S LOST SHIPS AND THE KAISER'S EXPLANATION

De Armengol in Le Pêle-Mêle (Paris) (c)

THE WOUNDED BOCHE

"He is wounded in the head, and they can't extract the bullet."

"That's not surprising. When they once get anything into their heads you can't get it out!"

A FRENCH TRIBUTE TO GERMAN TENACITY OF CONVICTION

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Robert Carter in the New York Evening Sun

DROPPING THE PIRATE

The suggestion for this striking caricature, showing Admiral von Tirpitz being dismissed by the Kaiser from his leadership of the infamous U boat campaign, is credited by the artist to the celebrated cartoon by Tenniel, published in "Punch," March 20, 1890, after Bismarck had been forced by the present Kaiser to resign as Chancellor. This picture was entitled "Dropping the Pilot," and represented the dignified figure of Bismarck passing over the side of the German ship of state, with William II gazing thoughtfully at the disappearing outlines of the great founder of German unity whom he has displaced from his honored position and relegated to private life

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being raised comes to us in a letter describing the activities of the Junior Anti-Suffrage League of New York City. This League of some ninety young girls has already raised the sum of $850, which it has contributed to the National Aeroplane Fund. This Anti-Suffrage League has taken an excellent way of refuting the argument that anti-suffragists are not interested in public questions and do not consider themselves responsible for the promotion of the country's welfare. This example might well be followed by any organization of public-spirited women.

THE MAHLER CHORAL SYMPHONY

One of the musical events of the year was the performance of Mahler's "Eighth Symphony" in Philadelphia. This is the first time this immense work has been given in the United States. It was performed in Philadelphia on March 2, 3, and 4. It is to be repeated in New York on April 9. Whatever one may think of the value of this work, there can be no question that its performance is a conspicuous occurrence of the musical season.

Leopold Stokowski, the conductor of the Philadelphia orchestra, who led the Symphony, says of the first time he heard it: "I have often wondered what were the sensations of the first white man in America who came face to face with the Falls of Niagara. Something of the same feeling of awe—the same flashing insight into infinity—I felt before this mighty art work of Mahler's."

In 1910, at Munich, Mr. Stokowski was admitted to the rehearsals for the first performance of this work, given under the direction of Mahler himself. From that time Mr. Stokowski was bent on giving this work in America. When the war broke out, he was stranded in Munich with the score and the American rights of performance; and after a series of misadventures on his way home he brought them safely to New York. A year ago the trial of voices began, preliminary to the formation of the three choruses—two of four hundred maturer singers, one of one hundred and fifty boys and girls—a total of nine hundred and fifty vocalists, carefully chosen and diligently trained. Not until nearly a year later, on the evening of the dress rehearsal on March 1, did the whole corps of singers come together with the orchestra of one hundred and ten players.

There were eight soloists, all of them singers of distinction, two of them from the Metropolitan Opera Company. A correspondent of The Outlook, Mr. Fullerton Waldo, whom our readers will remember as having contributed a report of the Bach Choir at Bethlehem two years ago, and who attended the performance of the Symphony in Philadelphia, has supplied us with an interesting account of the effect of this work upon the singers. When they first began to struggle with the tortuous progressions and intervals with which Mahler is pitilessly free, they felt dismayed, and several were tempted to desist, with the feeling that it was not worth while to try to put before the public music sure to sound so ugly and so queer. The choral singers had for the most part never sung any music approaching in difficulty the choruses of the Latin hymn "Veni Creator" and the final scene of "Faust" that constitute the Symphony. The hard places seemed a gratuitous affront to the vocal organs, and certainly graceless for the listening laity. But as the rehearsals went on the singers were converted. They felt that they had a mission to perform and that they must make their message understood. And Mr. Waldo adds, "They did."

The Symphony takes an hour and a half to sing. The first half-hour is occupied by the Latin hymn; the rest of the time is given to a curious promiscuity of allegory, pseudo-mythology, and mysticism, wherein the soul mounts upward toward the vision of the beatified Marguerite. Resounding choruses, mellifluous melody, chamois-like leaps of the voices over vocal abysses, a trio of refreshing concord, groping intervals of musical doubt and perplexity, outbursts of triumph and rejoicing, all lead to a great climax.

On the eve of the performance one hundred dollars was offered for a seat at any concert of the series. The house was crowded on each occasion. Mr. Stokowski was the recipient of a demonstration in which audience and chorus joined, and received a victor's wreath of bronze.

As in commerce, so in music—bigness of itself is not badness, but neither is it greatness. If this work lives, it will be for some other reason than that it calls for somewhat more than a thousand performers.

THE MUSIC OF EDWIN GRASSE

In the midst of such a wilderness of wild dissonance as certain modern composers invite their hearers to wander through it is a

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relief to come upon an oasis of melody. Such was the recital given last week in New York City by the American violinist and composer Edwin Grasse. Besides the "Devil's Trill Sonata" by Tartini and some other familiar works by Schumann, Saint-Saëns, Dvořák, and Schubert, Mr. Grasse played a sonata of his own in A Minor (for the first time at a public performance), two songs without words, a sprightly and charming "Wellenspiel" on muted strings, and, as an encore, his "Polonaise."

Mr. Grasse is a musical descendant of the German romanticists of the nineteenth century, such as Schumann and Mendelssohn. Indeed, his works have a family resemblance to Mendelssohn's compositions in their buoyant and flowing melody; but they show that they belong to a later generation by the way in which they glide from one key to another. There is little that is severe or austere in Mr. Grasse's works. There is nothing tragic, nothing epic, in them. Mr. Grasse is essentially a lyric composer. His violin does not speak; it sings. According to Mr. Grasse, life is happy. There are minor strains in his music, but they are not the strains of real, deep grief. They have that sort of youthful sadness that is part of youth's pleasures.

It has been said by a friend of his, Mr. Robert Haven Schauffler, in an article published some years ago in The Outlook, that "Grasse's great ambition is to be such a musician that people will lose sight of his blindness." For our part, while we respect Mr. Grasse's refusal to be placed in any special category because he is blind, we wonder if his message of optimism has not the more force because it comes from one who, unlike the fortunate and pampered Mendelssohn, well named Felix, bears the handicap of sightlessness. If such a man finds that, after all, the world is well ordered, the rest of us, it would seem, ought to be ashamed of being skeptics. And after hearing Grasse's music, one is inclined to wonder whether some of our modern composers who seem to exult in being morbid are not really handicapped because they are not blind.

Just as the real horrors of war are likely to make the pretended horrors of the supermodernists in music seem sickly and dull, so, possibly, Mr. Grasse's blindness has saved him from taking delight, as some of his contemporaries do, in the false pretense of musical darkness.

Mr. Grasse was born in New York thirty-one years ago last August. He lost his sight when he was four weeks old. From very early years he showed responsiveness to music, and began composing at seven years of age. At thirteen years of age he went to Belgium to study with César Thomson, and later made a tour, playing in Berlin, Leipsic, Munich, Vienna, and London.

Mr. Grasse ought to be heard oftener than he is. There are few violinists who give such evident pleasure to their audiences. Whatever the critics may say as to technique, an audience of discriminating and intelligent listeners will always discover the real musician. Mr. Grasse's technique is remarkable, but he wins his audience, not because of his technical mastery of the violin, but because he understands the music that he plays and knows how to convey it to his hearers.

A POLICE CHORUS

A chorus of policemen has started spontaneously in the New York City force. A few of the men belonged to singing clubs. At a funeral of one of the members of the force a quartette of policemen sang, and Commissioner Woods heard them. The idea then came to him that there might be developed a police chorus. He looked about for some one who could take up the work of training the men, and asked Mr. Charles L. Safford, organist and choirmaster of St. George's Church, on Stuyvesant Square, to do it. Mr. Safford consented, and took it up as a piece of citizenship. Volunteers were called for—just the men who were interested. There were about a hundred and fifty applications. It was decided, however, for the purpose of keeping the chorus more flexible, to limit the number to a hundred. There is therefore a waiting list at Headquarters now.

The traits of character developed by the discipline of the police force have given to these men certain qualifications for chorus singing which other men lack. The conduct of the rehearsal is so serious and dignified and the morale of the chorus is so good that there is no question of discipline at all. The fact that these men are volunteers, that they are fond of music, that there is no question of trying to "make good" at Headquarters, and that they have as a trainer a man of experience in this sort of task, has started the chorus well on the way to success. Up to last week there have been twelve rehearsals.

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The chorus has given no public concerts yet, but a concert is contemplated. It is Commissioner Woods's idea to have the chorus co-operate with the police band, which is an old organization, to give a concert in memory of the men on the force who have died in the service.

The Men's Club of St. George's Church have given the police chorus the privileges of the club-rooms in St. George's Memorial Building. In these rooms the members of the chorus frequently assemble before the time of rehearsal; after rehearsals some of them remain, and, to use Mr. Safford's expressive language, "beat the life out of the piano with ragtime."

In a conversation with a representative of The Outlook Mr. Safford was warm in his appreciation of the men of the chorus.

"Is the attendance regular?" Mr. Safford was asked.

"Remarkably regular. Out of the hundred men who are members of the chorus absences do not average more than six or seven a meeting, and these are legitimate on account of sickness through exposure, or on account of appearance in court, or some other detail in connection with their routine."

"Are these selected voices?"

"No. At the first meeting I tested about a hundred voices and rejected two simply because the men could not carry a tune. Everybody else was accepted."

"How about the quality of the voices?"

"The natural voices of these men are extraordinarily fine."

"In a chorus of unselected voices like this, can the balance be good? Are you not short of tenors, as most choruses are?"

"On the contrary, we are not short of tenors at all except second tenors. The chorus has twenty-five or thirty of the loveliest tenors you have ever heard in your life. For a chorus of this size the second basses are few, but you ought to hear their organ tones."

We print on another page a picture of this chorus at rehearsal. We hope the sight of these men will suggest to similar groups of men in other cities the idea of starting choral work of this sort. This chorus is a fine symptom of the *esprit de corps* of the New York police as it has been developed in recent years. What among undergraduates is called college spirit is a valuable possession of any body of men, and music seems to be one of the most effective expressions of it.

GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES

On another page appear the portraits of Ernst von Heydebrand, the leader of the German Conservatives, and of Ernst Bassermann, the National Liberal leader.

Physically, in size and appearance, Heydebrand conforms to one's preconceived ideas of a *Junker*. Temperamentally, too, he is neither imperious nor greedy. His manner is, in general, gentlemanlike and unpretentious. He does not obtrude himself on Parliament; he speaks only on extraordinary occasions. These are reasons why his speeches command the greater attention. When this protagonist of Prussian oppression and militarism does speak, however, his invective recalls the present Chancellor's description of him, "a man who carries his sword in his mouth"—as, indeed, is necessary if, in this very modern day, one is to oppose authority to liberty, feudalism to democracy.

Heydebrand is, as well, the ablest of the agrarians; he led them in the well-organized political and press propaganda which carried into law their idea of protecting German agriculture through a high tariff. Though the agrarians represent less than thirty per cent of the population, their power in Prussia is formidable. It accomplished the downfall of the popular Chancellor von Bülow, and, if it could, would bring about that of the present Chancellor.

Far different is Ernst Bassermann, who comes as much from the west as does Heydebrand from the east of Germany. Bassermann has a typically Teutonic physique and manner. He has great political knowledge and immense experience of affairs. He has known how to make himself feared, as Prince Hohenlohe discovered when Chancellor. Bassermann should be the leader of real Liberals. Instead, he is the leader of the party that is only nominally "Liberal." The spirit of the old Liberal party of 1848, with its inspiring ideal of German unity, did persist and consolidated Teutonic strength. To-day, however, it has degenerated into the status of being merely the political organ of an economic group. Even in the seventies the Liberals were the strongest party in Parliament. Then they split into two parties. Those who remained faithful to the old liberal ideals were called Progressives. The others, the National Liberals, not agreeing with conservative East Prussian land-baron protection, became

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the political instrument of German industrialism, just as the Conservatives had become the political instrument of agrarianism. Politically, the party apparently cultivated only that sort of liberalism pleasing to the Government. Indeed, it was a saying that Bismarck governed with the aid of mobile National Liberal majorities. No wonder that some Radical Liberals long since became disgusted with this servile attitude and turned toward the Social Democrats. Finally, the "National" so bigotedly and ambiguously qualified the "Liberal" in the party as to make men fear that some day a sudden, chance majority of Conservative and National Liberals might even disfranchise whatever of democracy exists in Germany!

Equally great is the present danger. Current discussions in Parliament indicate that the two parties seem to be standing together in upholding the Tirpitz policy of "frightfulness" in the war as against the somewhat humaner policy represented by other political parties and by the Chancellor.

THE SUGAR-BOWL AND THE TARIFF

Sugar is one of the most highly prized of necessaries. That is why the tariff bill that has passed the House of Representatives and is now before the Senate is at present of general interest.

This bill, introduced by the Democratic leader, Mr. Kitchin, will, if enacted, keep the tariff on sugar at its present rate.

When the Democrats came into power in 1913, it was stated that they had two objects in view in making their tariff bill. One of these objects was to get money for the Government. The other object was to reduce the cost of living. The Democratic tariff was to be a revenue tariff and a consumers' tariff. When it came to the sugar schedule, two points of view developed. The Democrats divided in their opinion. Some of them wanted to make the tariff on sugar such as to yield a good revenue. The others wished to make the tariff on sugar such as to reduce its price. The revenue tariff men believed in keeping a good tariff on sugar. No other commodity surpasses sugar as a producer of revenue. America has to import sugar, and it can get sugar from abroad cheaply, especially from Cuba. This cheaply produced sugar can stand a good tariff tax. Several Democratic leaders, however, among them the President, urged that the party's first duty was to make sugar cheap, and they believed that by taking off the tariff altogether, and making sugar free from all tax, sugar would go down in price. It was this view that prevailed.

At the time The Outlook reported the reasons that have been given to explain why free sugar might not be cheap sugar. If sugar is to be cheap, it must be produced in large quantities. Everybody uses sugar. The greater the demand for an article, the more it costs unless there can be a corresponding increase in supply. Anything which cuts off the production of such an article tends to increase its cost. The tariff on sugar has enabled Americans to grow sugar in Hawaii and in Louisiana and to build up the cultivation of the sugar beet in the interior of the country. By taking off the tariff on sugar, the sugar refiners would be able to get Cuban sugar so cheaply that they would not pay, it was said, a price sufficient to enable the sugar-producers of Hawaii, Louisiana, and the interior to stay in the business. The result, therefore, would be the cutting off of these great sources of supply, and thus the raising of the price of sugar.

In spite of these arguments, the Democratic party adopted a plan of free sugar. It did not, however, take the tariff off all at once, but took off part of it on March 1, 1914, and provided that the rest of it should be taken off after May 1, 1916.

Under the Payne-Aldrich Bill, the full duty on raw sugar was 1.685 cents a pound, except for Cuban sugar, which was taxed only 1.348 cents a pound. After March 1, 1914, the tariff was reduced to 1¼ cents (1.256 cents) a pound, but the tariff on Cuban raw sugar was reduced practically to 1 cent a pound (1.0048 cents). If the Democratic tariff law remains unchanged, sugar will be free after May 1, this year.

The Government, however, is in special need of revenue, and therefore the Administration does not want to lose any of the revenue that it is getting now. Moreover, there has been a great outcry from Louisiana. Already the sugar-growers in that State have been hard hit by the new tariff and have made their protests vigorous.

From present indications Mr. Kitchin's bill, which we understand follows the recommendation of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, will pass Congress. If so, the provision which puts sugar on the free list after May 1 will be repealed, and the rate on sugar which became effective on March 1

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1914, will remain in effect. This will probably be sufficient to save the sugar industry of Hawaii. Whether it will be enough to save the sugar industry of Louisiana or not remains to be seen.

Sugar is about the only necessary article of food which has gone down in price during the last twenty-five years. It has gone down because the production is more widespread and it is more available. The tariff on sugar has been a great source of revenue, and it has not prevented the lowering of the price of sugar. The Administration is certainly wise in abandoning its policy for free sugar and in at least retaining the present tariff.

THE STRANGE PLIGHT OF THE SHACKLETON EXPEDITION

To understand the singular predicament of Sir Ernest Shackleton on the Antarctic continent, as lately reported from Australia, it must be remembered that the continent around the South Pole has two deep indentations: one, on the side which may be best described as that toward South America, called Weddell Sea; the other, on the side toward Australia, called Ross Sea. Sir Ernest himself on the ship Endurance went to Weddell Sea, leaving England in September, 1914. His intention was to leave his ship to make its way around the continent to Ross Sea, and with a small party to strike inland to or near the Pole, and then onward to Ross Sea, a distance of seventeen hundred miles. This was in itself a hazardous and arduous attempt, for all food and equipment had to be carried by sledge, and little or nothing could be got from hunting.

The main object of the expedition was not to repeat first Amundsen's and then Scott's feat of reaching the South Pole, but to explore the vast unknown country of the Weddell Quadrant, a tempting field for geographer, mineralogist, and meteorologist. Shackleton's route passed near the Pole, however, and by no great divergence, if fortune favored him, he might add his name to those who have made Farthest South. He might reasonably be expected to reach Ross Sea about the present time, if he and his hardy half-dozen men survived and were not forced to turn back the way they came.

Meanwhile, the second vessel of the expedition, the Aurora, was to proceed to Ross Sea and await the Shackleton party. It reached the spot agreed upon, landed four men, who are supposedly still there, and then was jammed into a pack of ice, carried out to sea, and held fast in the ice for a drifting voyage of five hundred miles. When at last the Aurora was released, in an injured condition and rudderless, she made her way slowly toward New Zealand and by wireless told the story of her adventure. The Aurora will probably arrive in New Zealand within a few days. No doubt a relief ship can and will be sent to Sir Ernest's aid and to that of the Aurora's men left stranded, but it is said that it could not possibly get through the ice into Ross Sea for many months to come. Whether the Aurora landed stores or not is not known; if not, those who are now at Ross Sea or may arrive there from the interior would be in danger of perishing, although it is possible that Captain Scott's ill-fated expedition cached supplies there.

Among all the many narratives of polar endurance and suffering that of the Shackleton expedition bids fair, when published, if it ever is, to be one of the most remarkable and thrilling.

ACHIEVING A PAN-AMERICAN INDUSTRIALISM

The National City Bank of New York City recently celebrated the first anniversary of the inauguration of its trade-building links in Latin America. This Bank has six branch banks in Latin America—at Buenos Aires, Argentina; Montevideo, Uruguay; Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Santos, Brazil; and Havana, Cuba. This undertaking has already received appreciative comment in The Outlook; since then its scope has been broadened. For service in these branches the National City Bank has been training young men from American universities. The failure of manufacturers in this country to capture Latin-American trade has been largely due to the lack on the part of American producers of understanding the conditions which the buyers in these countries impose upon a manufacturing nation with which they transact business. The pioneer work that is being carried on by the National City Bank carries the message of American industry into these Latin countries, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, seeks to teach the American manufacturer that he must study trade conditions in South and Central America and the West Indies and adapt his methods to their requirements before he can hope successfully to gain their trade.

That there is progress along these lines is

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indicated by a writer in a recent number of "The Americas," the publication of the Foreign Trade Department of the National City Bank, who says:

It is hardly necessary for anybody to advise that something of the idea of the German super-organization of industry ought to be attempted here, since it seems to be coming along naturally. Without any Government compulsion there is in formation now an industrial co-ordination stimulated by war-time necessities in this country that will doubtless result in a huge industrial development.

The National City Bank has now extended its educational programme by an agreement with certain universities, among them being Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Cornell, New York University, Northwestern University, and the Universities of Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Under this arrangement the bank will draw from these universities a number of young men annually who will pursue a course of education for foreign banking and commerce in addition to their regular university studies. While each student will be required to spend one year of his four college years in the employ of the bank, the universities have agreed to allow such students to graduate in due order with their class. The bank agrees to pay each student a sum not to exceed $150 for railway fare to and from the university and the bank, in addition to the sum of $50 a month as a sort of "salary fellowship" to each student.

The student's time at the bank may be apportioned in a number of ways so as to interfere as little as possible with his regular college work. Probably the favorite method will be to spend two summer vacations of three months each at the bank and to make up the remainder of the required year during the first or second semester of the senior year at the college or immediately after graduation therefrom.

During the first two years the student may follow the usual university requirements, although the bank recommends that a course on "The Elements of Accounting" be included. During the last two years the student may be required to write a thesis upon some phase of banking. In addition the bank will, with the consent of the university, assign certain practical work in its own departments for the student to follow.

At the end of the required year of banking practice the student will be given the opportunity of entering the permanent service of the bank, provided there is an opening and that the student has satisfactorily passed the requirements of both the bank and his university. Certainly many young men will be glad to get this training, and certainly, by providing a corps of young men adequate to advance the interest of our foreign commerce, the National City Bank and the universities will be doing the country a service of no little value.

HOW MEMPHIS FOUND HERSELF

Builders of cities and community developers are just now pointing to Memphis, Tennessee, as an object-lesson in the things which stand for permanent growth, for few cities have grasped more firmly the basic principles of true economic development than has Memphis in the agricultural revival which that city recently conducted.

Some six months ago the Memphis Business Men's Club organized a Farm Development Bureau, and H. M. Cottrell was selected as Agricultural Director. Then one hundred and fifty of the leading business men and bankers visited their neighbors in eighty counties contiguous to Memphis. They said to the business men in these smaller cities and towns: "We are not here to sell you merchandise, but to get you to join us in making an analysis of the real business problems in your county and to find out what becomes of the money made by growing cotton."

The Bureau soon found, in the survey of their agricultural territory, that most of the cotton money was being sent away for food and feed which could be grown at home; that a one-crop system was making the soil poor and the crops short, and that injurious insects and plant diseases were doing great damage; that money was scarce and interest rates high; that a credit system of farming was practiced; that tenantry was on the increase; that there were poor schools, poorly equipped farms, bad roads, and poorly paid teachers and preachers; and, finally, that the people were poor.

The business men and farmers had heard of the Campaigns of Education waged in Arkansas and Alabama under the direction of Professor P. G. Holden, of the Agricultural Extension Department of the International Harvester Company. A committee called on Professor Holden in Chicago and convinced him that they meant real business,

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and at his suggestion invited all others interested in the agricultural development of Memphis territory to assist. The Harvester Company agreed also to furnish experienced advance men to assist in the organization work; to provide thirty trained agricultural lecturers, lecture charts, and demonstration material for their use; and to print one million pieces of literature for free distribution in the form of booklets on diversified farming, cattle tick, hog cholera, live stock, poultry, gardens, canning, home economics, sanitation, and other subjects dealing with the problems of the Cotton Belt States.

The Rock Island, Louisville and Nashville, Southern, Iron Mountain, and New Orleans, Mobile and Chicago Railroads all responded to the call. The agricultural and mechanical colleges, agricultural high schools of Arkansas and Mississippi, and many other influential interests in the South cooperated.

After three weeks of preparation, with an office force of ten people and nine advance men, the Profitable Farming Campaign was launched in Shelby County, Tennessee. There were, all told, sixty speakers engaged in the work, most of them being practical farmers from all sections of the United States. These speakers were divided into three crews, twenty in a crew. Three counties per day were covered, each crew holding from thirty to fifty meetings a day.

The campaign was carried on for twenty-eight days, ending in Mississippi in December. More than twenty-one hundred meetings were held out on the farm, in country schools and churches, and in the towns, and more than two hundred and twenty thousand people heard the lectures.

Each of the seventy counties covered in Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, and Mississippi had its own organization. In over two thousand communities visited local campaign committees were on the job and assisting in the work. Farmers were not asked to come to town. The local business men in each county provided conveyances to carry the speakers to the country meeting-places, and generally one or two of the town's business men accompanied each team of speakers to the country.

Interest in this big agricultural revival in the Memphis trade territory has proved to be far-reaching in effect. It was an example of service well performed in behalf of community building.

IS THE LUSITANIA CASE A LOCAL ISSUE?

A friend who has just come back from a journey through the Middle West reports that a considerable sentiment in that part of the United States was voiced by a gentleman who said to him:

"The Lusitania case is a local issue. It concerns only the Eastern seaboard!"

The reasoning of the Middle Westerner whom we have quoted appears to be something like this: "It is better that the lives of a hundred citizens should be occasionally sacrificed by the sinking of a passenger steamer than that the lives of a hundred thousand citizens should be sacrified in war."

It is a fact, of course, that a very small percentage of the people of the United States ever have occasion to travel on a transatlantic steamer. If the Lusitania case involved a mere question of the life and death of a few travelers at sea, it might be regarded as a question concerning our seaboard population only.

But the issue of the Lusitania case is not one to be settled by syllogistic reasoning or mathematical demonstration. It is an issue between two deep-seated and antagonistic theories of government and human life, and as such vitally concerns the whole United States.

One theory is that the basis of national life is military power, and that a nation in fighting for its national glory, or its political supremacy, or its material prosperity, can ruthlessly trample upon the rights of others, and then make amends by a cash payment for the destruction which it has wrought. This is the theory of the Prussian Government to-day. It was expressed by the Imperial Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg in the following official words, uttered in the German Reichstag on August 14, 1914:

> Gentlemen, we are now acting in self-defense. Necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and have possibly already entered on Belgian soil.
>
> Gentlemen, that is a breach of international law.
>
> The French Government has notified Brussels that it would respect Belgian neutrality as long as the adversary respected it. But we know that France stood ready for an invasion. France could wait, we could not. A French invasion on our flank and the lower Rhine might have

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been disastrous. Thus we were forced to ignore the rightful protests of the Governments of Luxemburg and Belgium. The injustice—I speak openly—the injustice we thereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained. He who is menaced as we are and is fighting for his all can only consider the one and best way to strike.

The sinking of the Lusitania and of other non-combatant vessels is simply the expression in action of this theory of government. Both the theory and the practice have culminated in the destruction of the Sussex. It was not a heedless act. Even if it was caused by a floating mine, its intent was deliberate—a perfectly consistent and logical manifestation of the theory of government clearly set forth by Germany in the words of her Chancellor at the beginning of the war.

The founders of the American Republic had a different view of humanity and government. This is what they said in the Declaration of Independence:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it.

Every American citizen, whether he lives on the Pacific coast, in the Mississippi Valley, in the Middle West, or on the Atlantic seaboard, must decide whether he believes in the theory of government thus propounded by Thomas Jefferson or in the theory of government propounded by Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg. Neutrality is impossible. No honest-minded American citizen, if he stops to think, can be neutral. To discuss the technicalities of international law is to befog the issue. The man who believes that Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg is right can be perhaps a sincere, high-minded, and honorable German citizen, but he cannot be a true American citizen. And no man who believes that the human race has an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness can look upon the invasion of Belgium, the torpedoing of the Lusitania, and the destruction of the Sussex without wishing with all his heart to protest and to aid in protecting humanity from the danger of similar acts of destruction in the future.

MEXICO AND PREPAREDNESS

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Apparently there is no little feeling in New Mexico that the United States soldiers stationed at Columbus did not take adequate precautions to prevent the attack upon that town and the massacre of some of its citizens by the Mexican bandit Villa. The "Las Cruces Citizen," published in Dona Ana County, New Mexico, in its issue of March 18 avers that the little American garrison stationed there was caught unawares. One of the commanding officers states that during the attack one or more of the machine guns placed at a strategic point jammed and was put out of action.

Concerning the general situation along the border, Senator Fall, of New Mexico, in an official statement says: "If the Government had been a little more prepared, Villa could never have escaped. If they had used a little more backbone and force, the people of El Paso, Douglas, and Nogales would not have been shot down on the very streets by fighting on the other side of the line."

The opponents of preparedness take these statements, opinions, and rumors of conditions as ground for saying that it is folly for the United States to enter into a campaign for preparedness against a large and efficient enemy if the United States army, on which a very large amount of money is now spent, cannot deal more effectively with one bandit and his ragged following.

As a believer in the United States army and in the organized campaign for preparedness, I write to ask how you explain the facts with regard to the surprising attack of Villa upon the village of Columbus and the army garrison which it contained. M. B.

Perhaps we can best answer this correspondent's letter by a general restatement of the conditions confronting our army on the Mexican frontier and by a summary of the handicaps under which it has labored.

The Mexican frontier of the United States is some fifteen hundred miles in length. This imaginary line has been threatened for nearly six years by anarchy and revolution from the Mexican side. To guard this line during the past year the army has had available not more than twenty thousand soldiers. It must, moreover, be remembered that this boundary line to a great extent runs through a wild and unsettled country. Of course, with the forces available any attempt to draw a cordon of troops across this line would have resulted only in the dissipation of the meager force which our Government has placed at the disposal of its military officers.

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The War Department has therefore been forced to concentrate its forces at the few points of strategic importance, relying upon cavalry patrols to cover such intervening regions as might be most dangerously menaced. The larger towns along the frontier have had the first call for the protection of the American Government.

We say that they have had the first call for the protection of the American Government, but in many instances this call has not been answered. As Senator Fall points out, the general policy of the Administration has been such that citizens and soldiers have been shot down in the streets of El Paso, Douglas, and Nogales without any adequate satisfaction for this gross violation of our soil. The hands of the American military authorities have been tied by the Administration, while the soldiers of the factions across the border have been wounding and killing soldiers in the uniform of the United States of America. Naturally, such lack of action on the part of the American Government has served only to encourage contempt for the United States among the irresponsible and lawless spirits across the border. It has served at the same time to prevent our military authorities from taking the steps necessary for protecting our soldiers and our civilians upon our frontier.

The conditions confronting our troops along the frontier may be illustrated by citing a situation which has existed at El Paso. At this point, right at the edge of an American army camp, there is a big power-house. Under the instructions issued to commanders at the border, there is no reason why this power-house could not have been secretly filled with Mexican troops, without the knowledge of, or interference from, our military authorities. From this point of vantage, our army camp could be surprised almost at will. This is but one instance illustrating a general condition.

Concerning the raid on Columbus, New Mexico, it can, of course, be said that Villa did not strike at one of the weakest points in our line of defense. He chose for the point of his attack a town garrisoned by a force of cavalry. It must be remembered that in making such an attack the first advantage always lies with the offensive rather than with the defensive force. This is particularly true when, as in the fight at Columbus, the attack is made for the pressing home of no military advantage, but merely for the satisfaction of a blood lust. Villa's raid against Columbus was like that of a mad dog running amuck in a city street. He came out of the barren desert across the Mexican frontier, struck, and fled. The "Army and Navy Journal" says that Villa's forces outnumbered those of the American garrison seven to one; and yet before he could get back to the border he lost in killed and wounded some two hundred men. The losses in killed on the American side, soldier and civilian, were less than twenty. Certainly there can be nothing said against the courage and bravery of the American troops once the attack had been made, nor have we seen such a thought even hinted. If all the precaution possible was not taken by the troops at Columbus to forestall a surprise upon that town, we have faith enough in the discipline of the regular army to state our belief that an investigation will be ordered and those responsible held to account.

Concerning the defects of equipment to which our correspondent refers in the mention of a machine gun that jammed, it must be remembered that the machine gun is not even now a fully developed weapon, like the modern magazine rifle. The Benét-Mercier machine gun, with which the troops at Columbus were equipped, at the time of its selection by the officers of our army was regarded as the best available. It has recently given good service in Haiti, and represents a marked advance over the gun with which some of our troops were equipped a few years ago.

The dependability of machine guns under war conditions may perhaps be realized when it is stated that in one battle of the Russo-Japanese War it is officially reported that the machine guns of the Japanese army jammed once for every three hundred shots fired. The most modern machine gun now in use in the German army fires six hundred shots a minute. If the Japanese guns were operated at this rate of speed, they would have jammed on an average of once every thirty seconds. The German gun to which we refer is fed from a cartridge belt some seventeen feet in length. Our American gun is fed with clips of cartridges which must be very accurately placed in the gun to secure continuous and uninterrupted action. The difficulty of handling these clips in the excitement of a night attack, even by fully trained troops, may be realized. When adopted for the United States army, the Benét-Mercier machine gun was believed to be the best in the world. It is true that the European war has developed better machine guns than those with which our troops are equipped. Our army officials

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would like to have such guns in effective numbers, but Congressional appropriations have not been sufficient to make the necessary purchases. Hence the responsibility for machine-gun deficiencies rests, not with the army, but with Congress.

It has been the time-honored custom of Congress to specify in minute detail the organization and equipment of our American troops. Instead of giving to the technical authorities of the army and navy a free hand in the determination of the best form of equipment and organization, Congress has held fast to the right to decide questions which, even with the best intentions in the world, cannot be wisely handled by a civilian legislative body. The Hay Bill now before Congress, for instance, provides for the organization of our machine-gun companies down to the exact number of cooks and buglers. Attempts are yearly made in Congress in the interest of disappointed inventors to force upon the army and the navy the acceptance of weapons which have been rejected by our military authorities. The army and the navy have been saddled with expensive political army posts and navy-yards which their most efficient officers have repeatedly urged Congress to abandon, while such branches of the service as the artillery and the aviation corps have been starved for lack of adequate appropriation. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that an efficient air fleet would have enabled the army utterly to forestall the attack upon the town of Columbus.

The United States, which gave to the world the principle of the modern armored ship, the submarine, and the aeroplane, has invariably trailed along behind the other nations in the applications of these inventions to its own needs.

It can be said without qualification that this has been due to our failure to adopt a budget system for our military appropriations and to our failure to co-ordinate the efforts of the executive, the legislative, and the military branches of our Government under one head, a National Counsel of Defense.

The organized campaign for preparedness in which our correspondent believes, and which has had the hearty support of The Outlook, must, if it is to be successful, throw its chief emphasis in this direction. Furthermore, our army will continue to cost the Nation a sum of money all out of proportion to the results achieved just as long as the Nation fails to recognize the responsibility that rests upon each able-bodied citizen to take part in its defense.

The solution of our military difficulties, both economic and political, can be found only in universal military training and in the establishment of a co-ordinated National system of development and control.

MR. ROBINSON'S NEW POEMS

The last year has been a red-letter one for Robinsonians, for it brought with it a reprint of "Captain Craig;" two plays of distinctive quality, "The Porcupine" and "Van Zorn;" and now, best of all, a new volume of poems, "The Man Against the Sky."[1]

In the two plays and in his new volume of poems Edwin Arlington Robinson maintains that curious attitude of impartiality towards his characters which has done so much to give him his peculiar and enviable position in American letters.

His characters are always strangely independent. He puts them on the stage of his poetry or his plays, and there, apparently, they work out their own destiny unhampered by their creator. Their sins, their virtues, and their whims and foibles are matters not for praise or blame, but chiefly for dissection and exposition. Yet, with all this aloofness, the reader of Mr. Robinson's poems is tremendously conscious of his own personality and his own point of view.

Perhaps it can be said that Mr. Robinson describes his characters in words, and himself in the rhythm with which those words move. This is a theory which it would be rather difficult to prove in a court of law, but there may be something in it, for all that. Certainly the characteristic rhythm of his poetry; the inevitableness of its flow; the cool, dry, and severe movement of his lines; the compactness of sound; the swift and adequate final accents, are all the expressions of a personality which, whether it appeals to one or not, cannot be denied its full share of laurel.

It has seemed in recent years as though Mr. Robinson were influencing, not only an always widening circle of readers, but the manner and form of American poetry itself. But most of those who have fallen into his manner of speech have caught only a fragment of his spirit. Even the best of these have done little more than unearth good raw material out of which Mr. Robinson might

[1] The Macmillan Company, New York.

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have made fine poetry. It happens that those who have, unconsciously or not, imitated his habit of thought have largely chosen for their medium either free verse or blank verse almost devoid of metrical accent. They have abandoned the subtle advantage that comes from the use of his characteristic verse forms in an attempt at bull-headed directness. They might have learned from Mr. Robinson that a writer is never so direct as when he is hinting a half-expressed thought, and never so indirect as when he is apparently laying out a character in black and white.

Of Mr. Robinson's last volume of poems, two are already familiar to readers of The Outlook, for "Flammonde" and "The Poor Relation" both appeared in our pages. The volume, as a whole, is remarkably sustained in quality. One of the most successful records a memorable conversation between Ben Jonson and a worthy man of affairs from Stratford town. Its humor and understanding are unforgetably real. We much prefer the Shakespeare that is reflected in the voice of Mr. Robinson's Ben Jonson to the inhuman genius of classic tradition. Ben Jonson asks concerning Shakespeare's boyhood:

"And you have known him from his origin,
You tell me; and a most uncommon urchin
He must have been to the few seeing ones—
A trifle terrifying, I dare say,
Discovering a world with his man's eyes,
Quite as another lad might see some finches,
If he looked hard and had an eye for nature. . . .
He must have had a father and a mother—
In fact, I've heard him say so—and a dog,
As a boy should, I venture; and the dog,
Most likely, was the only man who knew him.
A dog, for all I know, is what he needs
As much as anything right here to-day,
To counsel him about his disillusions,
Old aches, and parturitions of what's coming—
A dog of orders, an emeritus,
To wag his tail at him when he comes home,
And then to put his paws up on his knees
And say, 'For God's sake what's it all about?'"

Since this is Shakespeare time, perhaps we may quote here in conclusion a characteristic sonnet of Mr. Robinson's from the present volume, the title of which, "Another Dark Lady," recalls a controversy over which much ink has been spilled:

"Think not, because I wonder where you fled,
That I would lift a pin to see you there;
You may, for me, be prowling anywhere,
So long as you show not your little head:
No dark and evil story of the dead
Would leave you less pernicious or less fair—
Not even Lilith, with her famous hair;
And Lilith was the devil, I have read.
I cannot hate you, for I loved you then.
The woods were golden then. There was a road
Through beeches; and I said their smooth feet showed
Like yours. Truth must have heard me from afar,
For I shall never have to learn again
That yours are cloven as no beech's are."

If we had to choose between a knowledge of the real name of Shakespeare's dark lady and the possession of this sonnet the decision would not be hard to make.

THE NATIVE AMERICAN

FROM A SPEECH BY JOSEPH G. CANNON, OF ILLINOIS, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 24, 1916

A bill to restrict immigration into the United States, and to require of incoming immigrants, with few exceptions, to prove that they can read some language, has been before the House of Representatives. Such a bill was vetoed by President Taft, and another bill similar to it was also vetoed by President Wilson. In the course of the debate on the bill, Joseph G. Cannon, former Speaker of the House, made a vigorous speech in opposition. From that speech we have selected the following passages, not only because they afford an example of Mr. Cannon's humor and picturesque style, but because they plead the case of America as well as of the immigrant.—THE EDITORS.

WHO are the native Americans? I have for years tried to find the native element in our population. I recently turned to a report of the Census Office under the title of "A Century of Population Growth," in which is given a list of the family names which appeared in the First Census in 1790. This does not give all of the names of the more than thirty hundred thousand people living then in the United

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States, but it does pretend to give all the family names that represented one hundred or more people, on the assumption that the "heads of families in 1790 were the founders of the Republic," and that these names, numbering 27,337, would be "the basis for our American genealogy." There were then 3,172,444 white people in the United States, and less than 30,000 family names. These were the native whites in this country when the Constitution was adopted and Washington became the first President.

How many of us can trace our lineage back to those first American families, and how many of us are compelled to trace our lineage back to the alien immigrant? I tried to trace the membership of this House back to that American "Almanach de Gotha," and I could not locate one-third of you. There are one hundred and thirty-five members of this House whose family names cannot be found in the First Census of the United States. These one hundred and thirty-five Representatives represent the alien immigrants to this country, but who will deny that they have American names?

I found the name of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Gardner], who is one of the later pioneers of this movement, written in fifteen different ways, and that may justify his position. I found the name of the Chairman of the Committee on Immigration and the author of this bill, but few of the other members of the Committee can trace their lineage back to the first families. I was able to find my own name there spelled in six different ways, from Cannon to Canine, but I have other historical records that some of my ancestors were driven out of New England long before this First Census on pain of having their ears cut off if they remained; so I have no particular pride in finding my name among the first families of the Republic. I am willing to be put down with the aliens of this House.

The Senate is not better represented in that old list than the House. While my friend [Mr. Gardner, of Massachusetts] is, as I said, represented by fifteen different spellings, I have been unable to find the name of his distinguished father-in-law, the senior Senator from Massachusetts, who is one of the most brilliant and cultured men in public life. That ought to be a consolation to some of you. If Senator Lodge is an alien, who among us may not be proud of the title?

The Congress of the United States is not the only place where scions of the first families do not monopolize the membership. There were no McKennas, no McReynolds, no Pitneys, no Van Deventers, and no Brandeis for the membership of the Supreme Court; no McAdoos, no Burlesons, and no Houstons to sit around the Cabinet table. Business, commerce, manufacture, science, literature, art, and labor, as now represented in our great American family, would have lost in nomenclature, if not in development, had the First Congress of the United States enacted such legislation as this and closed the ports to the alien immigrant. I can find in that list of first families in 1790 no Agassiz, Edison, or Westinghouse; no Carnegie, Harriman, Havemeyer, or Mackay; no Astor, Belmont, Lorillard, or Leiter; no Funston or Pershing; no Watterson or Pulitzer; no Saint-Gaudens or La Farge; no Gompers or Morrison; no Billy Sunday or Mary Pickford. . . .

These are a few of the names which would never have appeared in American history had Congress in 1790 seen fit to legislate against the alien immigrant. But there is one other name absent from this old list of first families with which we have all become familiar in recent years, for it has appeared in the public prints more perhaps than any other associated with stirring events in both military and civil life—at the head of a regiment of Rough Riders, as Governor of New York, as Vice-President and President of the United States, as lion-hunter, explorer, naturalist, discoverer of the River of Doubt; as idol of many people who call themselves the true Americans of this composite people; the name of Roosevelt does not appear in any form, synonym or root, in the list of first families.

Who, then, are the native Americans who have for one hundred years periodically grown hysterical about putting up the bars to protect themselves against alien blood, and then opening wide the gates to welcome immigration to an enlarged field of labor in this melting-pot of the world, which has for three hundred years been pouring from its crucible a new composite American to stand as a type both like and unlike those of the older civilizations from which the virile blood of America has been drawn? . . .

I am proud of this country. I am glad to have been born in this, or perhaps I had better say in the last, generation. I would like to live to see the swing of the twentieth

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

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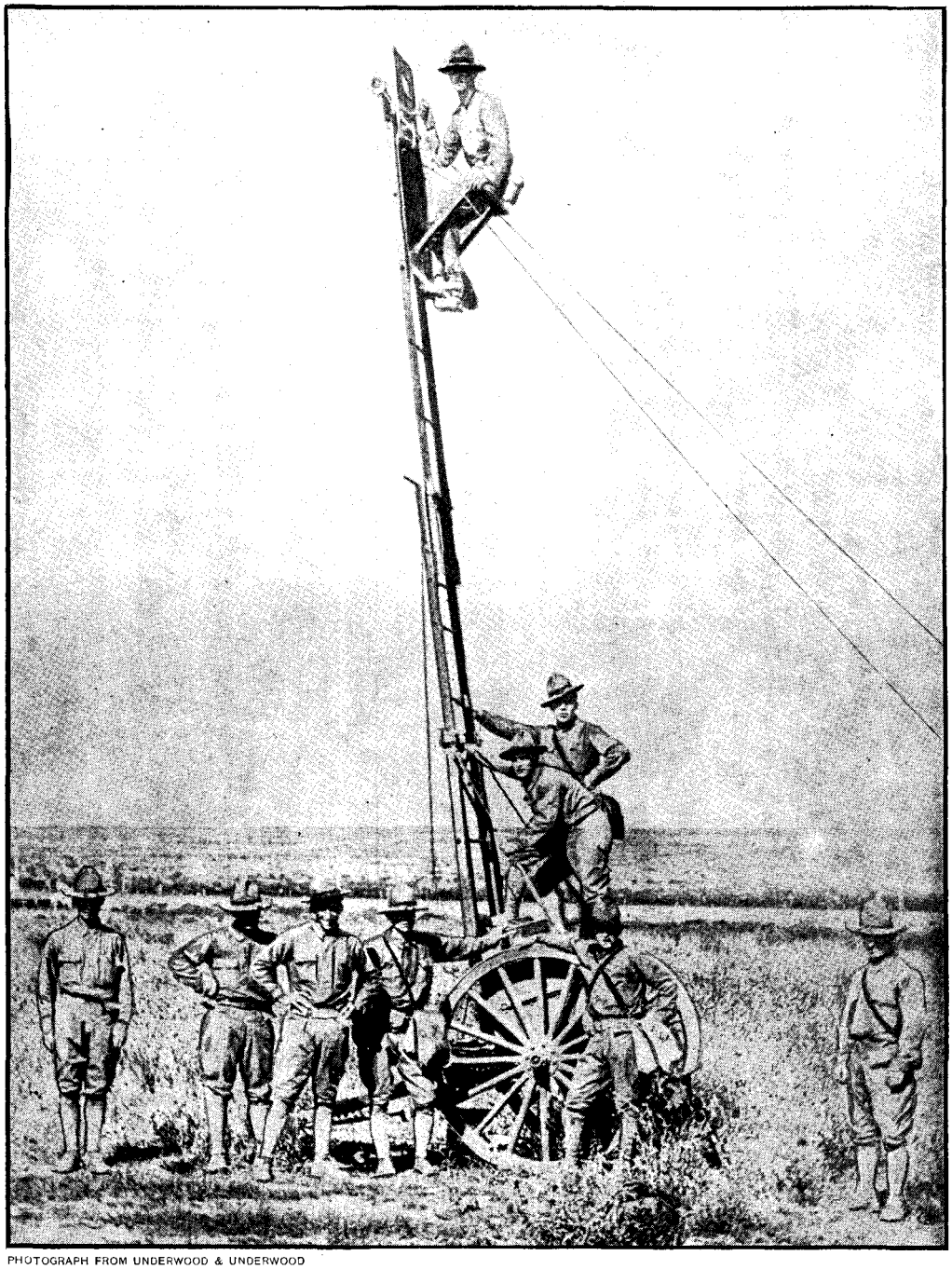
Current Events Pictorially Treated



PHOTOGRAPH FROM UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

OBSERVATION TOWER USED BY THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN THE MEXICAN EXPEDITION

The picture shows a Signal Corps squad operating a field observation tower, which, it is reported, will be of special use to the expedition now in Mexico in some of the flat districts through which our forces will pass. The tower is demountable and is easily carried on a caisson; it can be run up in a few minutes and the protective shield affords a safe shelter for the observer

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PHOTOGRAPH FROM UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

AMERICAN CAVALRY HALT FOR WATER ON THE MARCH IN MEXICO

The scarcity of water in the arid wastes through which the punitive expedition has had to march in pursuit of the Mexican bandits constitutes one of the dangers of the expedition. Every stream and water-hole is made to contribute to the supplies of the expedition, which must be carried in wagons for men and horses till the desert country is passed

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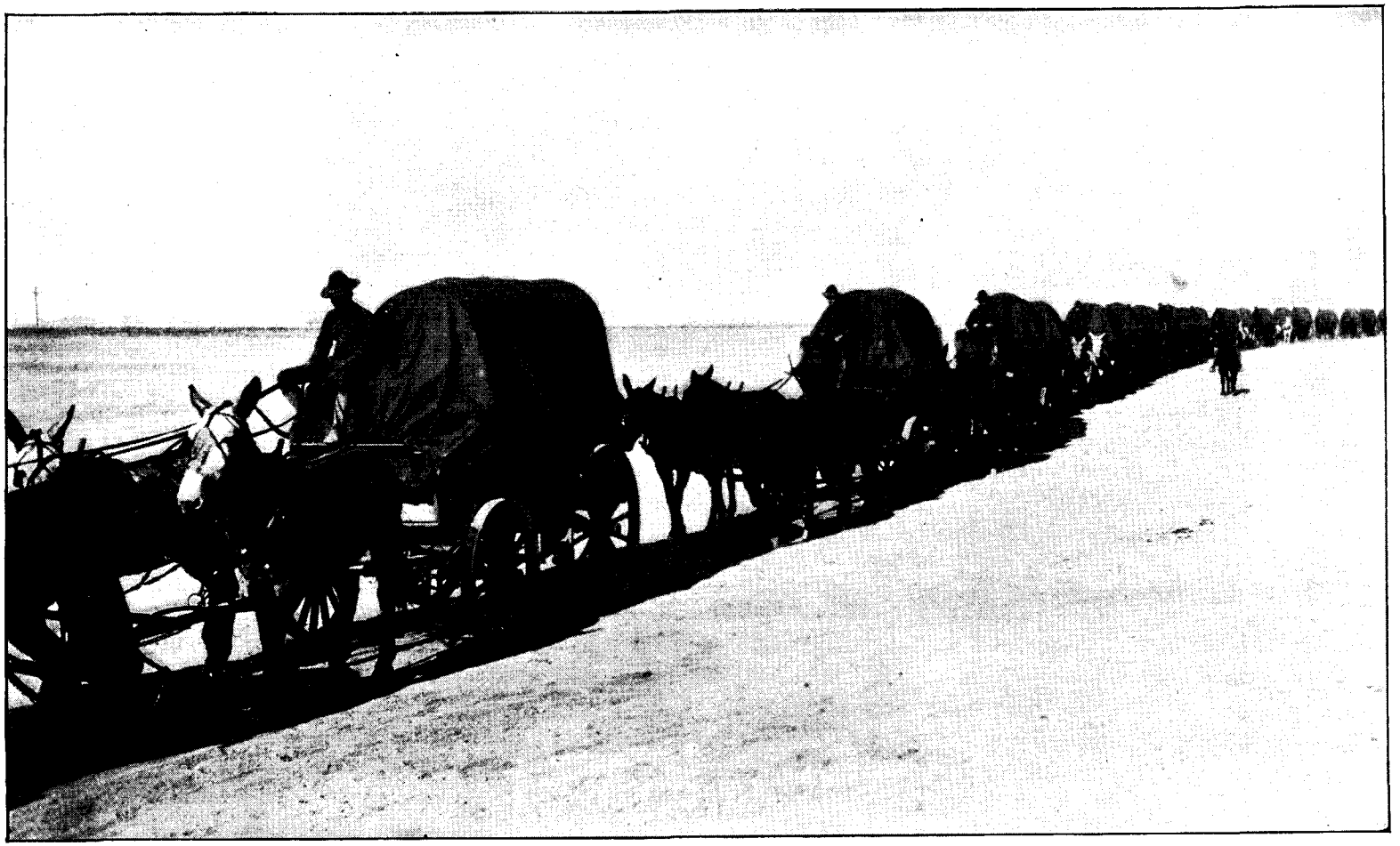

BY PARAMOUNT PICTURE CORPORATION, FROM AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

SUPPLY WAGONS OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY LEAVING COLUMBUS TO JOIN THE AMERICAN FORCES NOW IN MEXICO

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PHOTOGRAPH FROM PRESS ILLUSTRATING SERVICE, INC.

GENERAL GALLIENI, RETIRING MINISTER OF WAR

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GENERAL ROQUES, THE NEW MINISTER OF WAR

THE CHANGE OF WAR MINISTERS IN FRANCE

See article with this title, by Charles Johnston, elsewhere in this issue

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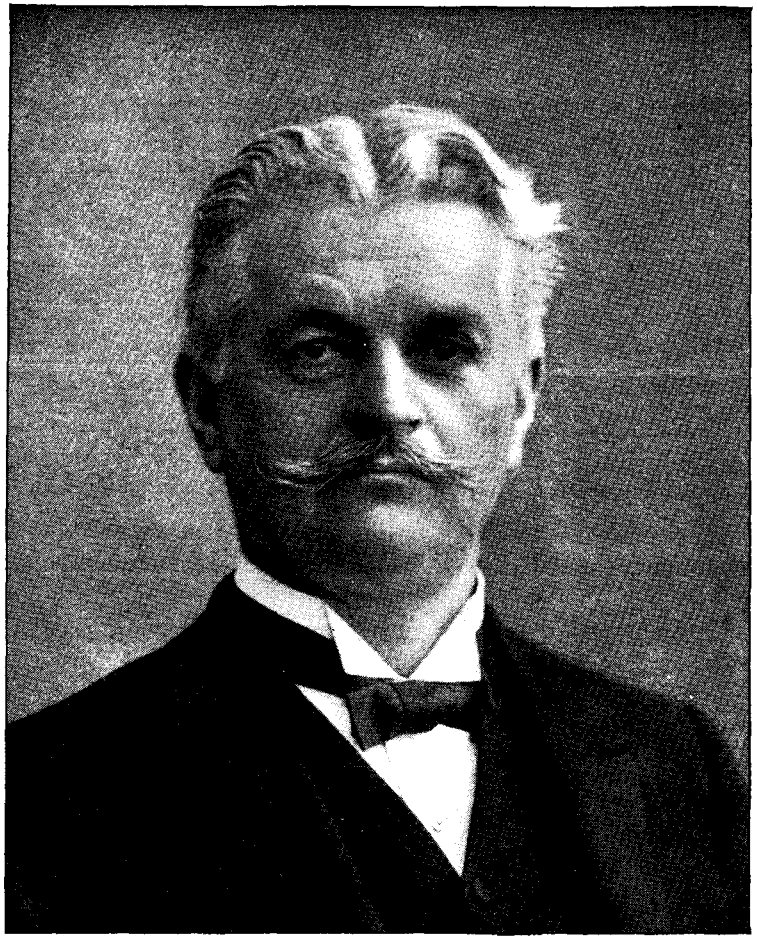

PHOTOGRAPHS FROM BAIN NEWS SERVICE

HERR ERNST BASSERMANN

BARON VON HEYDEBRAND

LEADERS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE PARTIES IN GERMANY

The growing strain of the war on Germany's resources is indicated by the recent debates in the Reichstag between representatives of the various parties. These leaders have united in apparent opposition to the Imperial Chancellor. See editorial comment

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A HARMONIOUS Y. W. C. A. PARTY THAT REPRESENTED NEARLY ALL THE NATIONS AT WAR, AND OTHERS

See the article "The Nations at Peace," by Alfrieda Marian Mosher, in this issue

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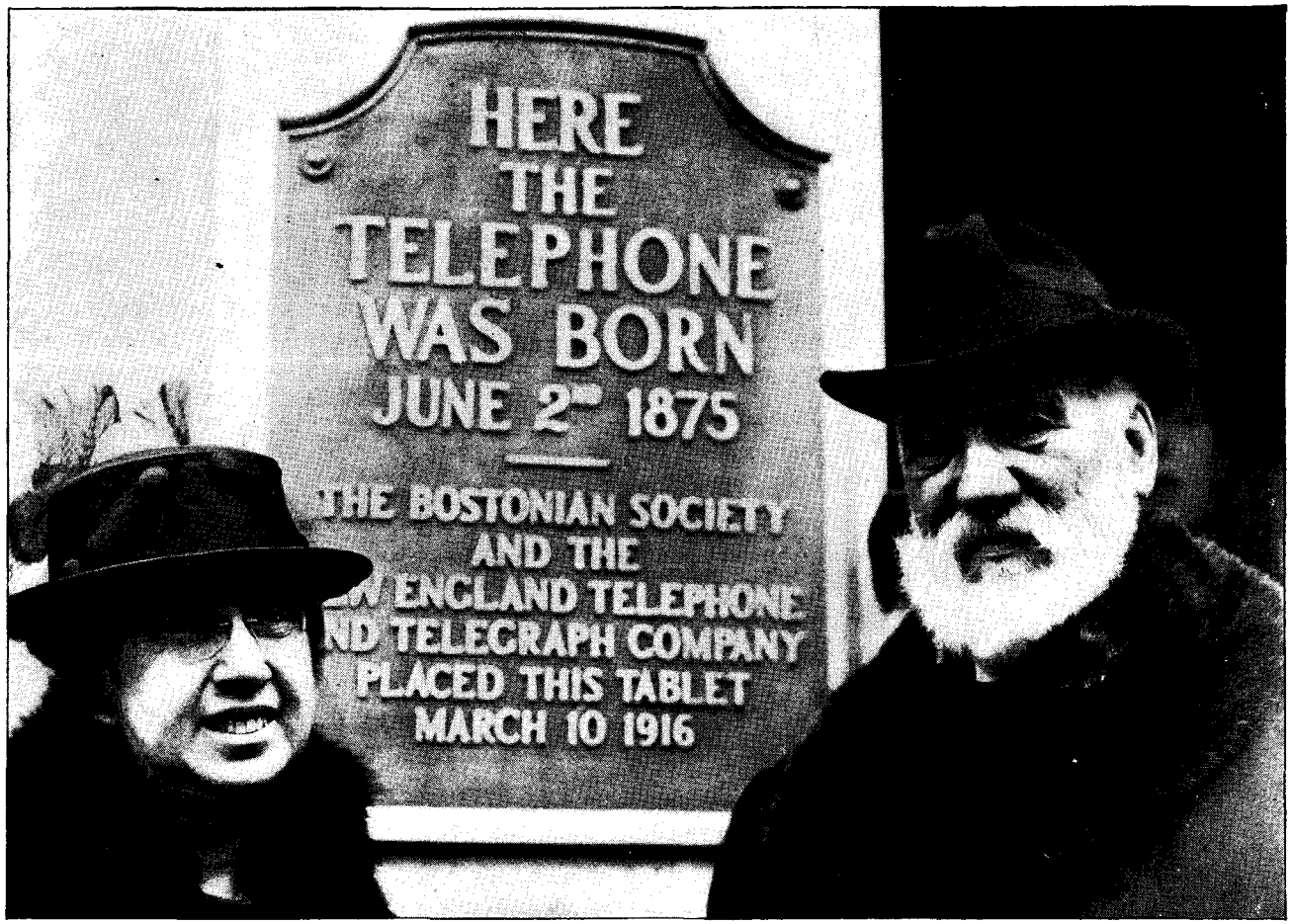

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A GREAT INVENTOR SEES THE UNVEILING OF A TABLET COMMEMORATING HIS INVENTION

The picture shows Professor Alexander Graham Bell, the inventor of the telephone, with Mrs. Bell, at the unveiling of the tablet which commemorates the birth of that epoch-making invention. The tablet has been erected on the site where the first telephone was used, 109 Court Street, Boston, Massachusetts

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NEW YORK CITY'S POLICE CHOIR AT REHEARSAL

One hundred members of the police force of New York City have been organized into a choir. They meet for practice in St. George's Memorial Building in East 16th Street. See editorial comment on this notable effort of members of the force to attain a wider culture, with a consequent enhancement of their usefulness as citizens and as policemen

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century and what it will bring. Nature is kindly, I can quit whenever the man with the scythe comes, but I desire to say that I have this faith, that we will grow stronger and stronger, and that we will continue to become so and to live under the Constitution of the United States which guarantees property, liberty, freedom in religious opinion, with legislation that shall cover the rich and poor, the great and small, the high and low, every one within our borders, native born or naturalized, like the grace of God, and that under it we will make our laws strong enough to restrain the strongest and to protect the weakest; and that, for more centuries than I can say, the great Republic will grow and grow and continue to retain, as it ought to, our privileges and our civilization.

KEEP THE SOLDIER OUT OF POLITICS

SOME COMMENTS ON THE HAY BILL

BY ERIC FISHER WOOD

AUTHOR OF "THE NOTE-BOOK OF AN ATTACHÉ," "THE WRITING ON THE WALL"

For the first time the danger of militarism in the United States has suddenly become very real.

Strange as it may seem, the danger does not come from those who are advocating a thorough system of preparedness, but, unconsciously no doubt, from those who are opposing it.

Militarism consists, not in the size of the military establishment, but in its political power. That country is militaristic, no matter if its army is small, which has allowed its military authorities power or influence superior to its civil authorities or to its people. Nothing can make that military influence stronger than by giving to the military a financial interest in politics.

This is a time for the people of the United States to stop, look, and listen.

We commend to our readers Mr. Wood's article.—THE EDITORS.

CERTAIN elements of the American people are violently opposed to National standing armies. Nearly all elements are opposed to large standing armies. This opposition has become dogma. Like most dogma, it is the product of habitual repetition. It is the result of repetition which commenced at the time of the American Revolution, and has survived several subsequent National epochs. It was originally founded upon fear that a National standing army might sometime be used against us as a weapon of political oppression, as one had been used against us by our erstwhile autocratic ruler, George the Third.

Our forefathers, however, did away with any such possible danger when they established a republic, thereby making the American people masters of their own armies. This was one of the principal reasons why the founders set up a republic instead of a limited monarchy.

But, the Republic once having been established, the persistent prejudice against a National standing army became superfluous. Our armies can never become politically oppressive to the United States unless they attain great political power. In point of fact, the members of our National standing army have at present absolutely no political power. They are forbidden to hold public office, they may not become aldermen, mayors, or governors; they may not sit in any legislative body. In a majority of cases the exigencies of their profession make it impossible for them even to vote at elections. They are not permitted to participate in any civil business, nor to practice any profession other than that of arms. At the present time they are even denied the right of free speech.

Not only have they no political power, but they are absolutely and defenselessly at the mercy of the Government. Every two years Congress is called upon to make the appropriations which alone permit the continued existence of the army. The National standing army can at any time be reduced or even abolished altogether by the will of the people as expressed through Congress.

Much good evidence and sound logic may be brought forward to demonstrate that there are better ways to solve our problem of National defense than to increase largely our National standing army. The adoption of the Swiss system would be a better method.

It is equally true that far worse means might be adopted. The pendulum of public

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opinion, however, has swung so far to the side of prejudiced opposition to a National standing army that the fact that much worse dangers than a standing army now threaten us is not generally understood or admitted.

Moreover, this prejudiced opposition has been, and is being, capitalized by the "pork barrel" forces in Congress. After three years of sterility, the present Administration has finally permitted itself to give birth to a weakling defense measure, known as the Hay Bill, which in its present form is a most effective vehicle for the transportation of "pork," and a backward step as regards military preparedness.

This bill begins by tacitly assuming that our State militia, composed of citizen soldiers, is inefficient. Whether this is or is not true is in the present discussion beside the point. This bill proposes to *pay* the militia to be good, thereby attempting to substitute money for patriotism as an actuating motive.

Rather than materially to increase the National standing army it is proposed that we pay the State militias. But when we remunerate citizen soldiers they cease to be such to the extent of their payment. When we remunerate the citizen soldier for military service, we make him a professional soldier, and the professional character is commensurate with the scale of the payment. The Hay Bill makes the professional character very marked, for, according to its provisions, militia officers will receive from $300 to $800 a year.

Instead of increasing our organized and unified standing army, which is devoid of political power, we are about to set up forty-eight new and separate standing armies whose members, although professional soldiers, will, on the one hand, neither be invested with the disabilities which have heretofore characterized the professional soldier of our country, nor will they, on the other hand, be denied any of the privileges to which as citizen soldiers they have been previously entitled.

Our forty-eight new standing armies will thus be possessed of tremendous and most dangerous political power, for their members may hold any public office; many of them are already aldermen, mayors, or governors; many sit in legislative bodies; others participate in civil businesses or practice in professions. Each and every one is an effective voter, and their collective votes powerfully influence public legislation. As a body they wield a powerful and widespread influence over the public press.

What a keen interest the State politicians will immediately begin to take in the militia if the Hay Bill should be ratified by the Senate and thus become law, for it is replete with limitless "pork-barreling" possibilities. In future the boss will say to the local standing army: "If you boys 'put it over' for me, I'll see that your pay is raised."

And what candidate for office would ever be politically so foolish as to propose a *decrease* in pay or to demand proper military return for National money expended? The control of the State militias would under these conditions very quickly pass from the hands of the unselfish patriot into those of the professional politician.

If public opinion permits the final passage of the Hay Bill, it will have behaved like a horse which, having acquired a prejudice against automobiles, allows itself to be frightened by their proximity into plunging over a precipice. In shying at Scylla it falls into a far worse Charybdis.

The Hay Bill is contrary to the recommendations of the General Staff of the Army. It has been protested against by hundreds of well-informed public men, among them Congressman Gardner, S. Stanwood Menken, Henry A. Wise Wood, ex-Secretary of War Wright, ex-Secretary of War Stimson, ex-Secretary of War Root, ex-Secretary of War Garrison, and Secretary of War Baker. It is from a military standpoint so illogical that one is at a loss to discover other motives for it than those of "pork"

It would be difficult to find a more concise summing up of the dangers of the Hay Bill than the report of the Democratic minority of the House Committee on Military Affairs in 1912, made in relation to a similar bill. (Report 1117, Part II, Sixty-second Congress, Third Session.) This report was at that time concurred in by Mr. Hay, who was leader of the minority which drew up the report:

"The minority making this report is convinced that the legislation proposed by the pending bill is not only unwise, but that it is dangerous in the extreme. Rather than enter upon a legislative course that will inevitably entail upon the General Government an enormous expense, which may be found in dire emergency to have been wasted, a course that will surely lead to the creation of a great military force that will become so powerful politically that Congress will be no more able to resist its demands than it has been to

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resist the demands of the far less compactly organized and manageable army of pension applicants and their friends, this minority would favor a reasonable increase of the regular army, leaving the States to maintain their own troops in their own way and at their own expense without any aid whatever from the United States."

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

IN his recent testimony at Washington before the Senate and House Committees on Military Affairs Major-General Leonard Wood, U.S.A., offered what seems to us the most interesting evidence yet given looking towards universal military training, and, if necessary, universal military service.

In the Revolutionary War George Washington warned the American people against what was in effect a volunteer system. He said that it would be a failure. Said General Wood:

We started, of course, under a pretty big handicap. But our force, strangely enough, was strongest in 1776. Our force in 1776 was eighty-nine thousand and some odd men—47,000 Continentals and 42,000 militia or short-term men. Even the Continentals were for pretty short terms. That force dwindled every year. We did everything to keep it up. We raised our bounties from $4 to $1,200. We offered freedom to Negroes. We did pretty much everything people could do to buy men to serve. We ended the war in 1781 with a little over 29,000 troops of all classes. The British forces in the meantime had doubled. So much for the volunteer system in that war. Washington never had an effective 20,000 men in the field at any one time, and, as he said in his letters, if he had a small, effective force we would not have had the humiliating spectacle of four or five thousand of the enemy's troops holding impotent several million people. Or, as Washington stated:

"We should not have found ourselves so weak as to be insulted by 5,000 men; . . . we should not have been the greater part of the war inferior to the enemy, enduring frequently the mortification of seeing opportunities to ruin them pass unimproved for the want of a force which the country was completely able to afford, and of seeing the country ravaged, our towns burned, our inhabitants plundered and murdered with impunity, for the same cause."

In the War of 1812 we had a similar difficulty, commented General Wood.

We had 527,000 men in service during that war, and yet the largest British regular force at any one time was 16,800. . . . The military power was held in abeyance on various occasions by 5,000 of the British regular troops. Our Capitol was burned by a force of about sixty per cent of the defenders. And we abandoned it with a loss of eight killed and eleven wounded!

In the Civil War the South began to draft in April, 1862. The North had its first draft order in August, 1862, and instituted the general draft next year. No one who has the best interests of the country at heart would ever want to have this condition repeated. General Wood concluded and thus summarized history as it ought to have been:

If the policy of . . . Washington had been approved, the chances are we would have had no War of 1812; and if we had had it we would have held Canada after a short campaign. If we had had that policy, the Civil War would have been impossible. . . . There is only one time in all military history when we have been prepared for war, and that was at the end of the Civil War.

We cannot afford to cling to the volunteer system any longer. If we are going to have an effective army, declared General Wood, there must be general military training, "otherwise the good men will go first, then volunteering will stop, as it did in the Revolution and in 1812 and in the Civil War. We never filled our call for the Spanish War even."

The volunteer spirit is fine, affirms General Wood, but the system is unsound and spells disaster if ever we go into a real war with it.

It is not generally realized that under the Act of 1792 we had compulsory training, but never really applied it. We are reminded that we live under it to-day to the extent that all from eighteen to forty-five years of age are liable for military duty. "There seems to be no general appreciation of this; certainly there has been none as indicated by preparedness to discharge such service effectively," General Wood pertinently said.

Any plan of defense which fails to recognize that with the privilege of the suffrage goes the obligation for military training, and, if necessary, for military service, will be only a makeshift and a failure, General Wood justly asserted, and added:

Whether they like it or not, men realize that the principle of universal military training is

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sound. They realize that a man cannot exercise the suffrage as a right and assume that he has the privilege of deciding as to whether or not he is to render service in case of necessity.

In addition, we have been going on a basis which allows a man of means to buy the services of a substitute, remarked General Wood, and continued:

If there is anything more damnable that can be conceived of in the way of policy in a democracy, I do not know what it is. . . . The rich, when drafted, have been able to buy the poor to take their places. The result has been a debauchery of public morals on the subject of each and every man's obligation to service in time of war. . . . We must get out of our heads the idea that the National service is a service for money. We should have it thoroughly instilled into the minds of all the people that the service is an obligatory one—one that all men owe the Nation during certain periods of their lives.

General Wood believes that we must come to equality of service, not necessarily service with rifle in hand in all cases, but service in some capacity. For instance, a man may be a surgeon at a hospital at the rear or on the line of communications, in the Quartermaster Corps, in manufacturing plants, as a producer, etc., but somewhere he has his place. He must know where it is, and the Government must know it.

For twenty months England has been trying to secure volunteers, and because of ill success has had to resort to the draft. General Wood stated:

A prominent Englishman recently wrote to me, saying: "If we had listened to Lord Roberts, we should have been ready now. The pacifists and opponents of preparedness were always asking him, 'Whom are you getting ready to fight?' We have our answer now. I notice that a similar class of people are asking in the United States, 'Whom are you getting ready to fight?'"

"As a matter of fact," replied General Wood, "we are not getting ready to fight any particular people." He proceeded:

Our preparedness is against war with any people. A lady asked me that question the other day: "Whom are we preparing to fight?" A Cunarder had just come in from a stormy passage. I said, "Madam, if you will ask the captain of this Cunarder for what particular storm he carries his lifeboats and life-saving apparatus and he tells you, I will tell you whom we are getting ready to fight."

General Wood recommends a system of universal military training similar to the Swiss and Australian systems, and his testimony with regard to such training is summarized in the following eulogy of those systems, to be applied in this country with any necessary modifications as to details, but always with the acceptance of the principle that manhood suffrage means manhood service:

We should establish a condition under which the greatest possible number of men are trained, and, once trained, returned to their normal occupations, and only enough men maintained with the colors for the every-day needs of the Nation, no more.

There is nothing which savors of militarism, but only a condition of normal, rational preparedness. Then you will be able to keep the smallest practical number with the colors. You will have a reserve behind you of trained people, like the Swiss. . . .

Such a system will lead to unquestionably better citizenship, reduction of the criminal rate, better people physically and more efficient economically.

With regard, in particular, to a reduction of the criminal rate, General Wood recalled the fact that "the murder rate in this country, which is the heaviest of any Christian country in the world, is one hundred and twenty-four per million as against about twelve per million in Switzerland."

We have never waged, single-handed, a war with a first-class country prepared for war. And, as General Wood remarked, we have not the slightest conception of what war would mean with an organized and prepared nation. He said:

Yet it is principally with possible war with such a nation that we are concerned. No greater folly could be committed than to follow the course . . . of leaving the burden of war to the time of war. . . . The burden of war must be spread over a very much longer time than the period of war. This burden must be in the form of preparation, organization, provision for supplies, training of men, etc., all with the object of making the war short, successful, and its burden as light as possible. To leave the burden of war to the time of war would be an act of indescribable folly, and indicates on the part of those advocating it a failure to gather anything from the lessons of the past and the present.

Finally, said General Wood: "What is needed above everything else is a frank exposition of our situation and needs. Once the people know what is needed and appreciate the requirements and what is necessary to meet the National requirements, I am confident they will respond."

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THE SWISS SOLDIER

BY JEAN MARTIN

OF THE EDITORIAL STAFF OF THE JOURNAL DE GENÈVE

The following article is a clear, short, and complete account of the operation in Switzerland of the principle of universal training for military service. From a military point of view Switzerland is one of the best prepared and least jingoish countries of Europe. Mr. Martin's article, which was written at our request, makes it very plain that the Swiss system of preparedness has very great educational as well as defensive qualities. It is the Swiss spirit and method which The Outlook believes the people of the United States should adopt. We may add that Mr. Martin, besides being an active and accomplished journalist, is a captain in the Swiss military service.—THE EDITORS.

ON the 3d and 4th of August, 1914, Switzerland called into service all of her men from twenty to forty-eight years of age liable to service. Three hundred thousand soldiers took up arms, ready to defend the frontiers wherever they might be menaced.

Such a very rapid mobilization, which more than anything else has preserved the Helvetian Republic from an attack from one or another of its neighbors, was the fruit of long and patient military preparation. The year 1870 had shown the insufficiency of our army organization. Forty-four years of assiduous toil gave time enough to make of that organization, not a perfect instrument—it might be extravagant to pretend this—but one may say at least a sufficiently perfected mechanism to insure the country's defense.

What is the Swiss army system? It is that of universal military service, obligatory on all citizens. If he possesses the necessary qualifications, every Swiss is compelled to do military duty. If a medical commission declares him ineligible, he must pay a tax, of which the proceeds go towards military defense expenses.

How does this system work in practice? Let us take, if you please, a Swiss boy and follow him throughout the divers phases of his career to the moment when, having fulfilled all his duties, he may, with a good conscience, lay aside his arms and let younger persons have the care and the honor of the country's defense.

Primary instruction is compulsory in Switzerland, and at the school, perhaps for the first time in his existence, the young republican comes into contact with classes of the population different from his own. At school he is under no military instruction, properly so called. But the young aristocrat and the son of the rich merchant or the great captain of industry study side by side with the son of the mason or the street-sweeper. They learn that all are equal in the Republic before the law.

The school-teachers stimulate their pupils' minds and hearts by accounts of the splendid history of Switzerland, of the little nation's battles for liberty and independence against its powerful neighbors. The names of Morgarten, Sempach, St. Jacques, Granson, Morat—these victories of old time indite themselves forever in the youth's memory.

He takes part in gymnastic lessons so that his body may develop along with his mind and so that he may become a soldier, as did his father and his elder brothers before him. That is his dream and his desire.

Before reaching his majority he has opportunity of spontaneously showing his military inclination. He may become a Boy Scout; our Boy Scouts are organized like those of General Baden-Powell in England. Nothing obliges him to do this, but if he does it he will prepare himself also to understand the lay of the land; later, in the army, his chiefs will utilize this knowledge for patrol service.

From eighteen to twenty years of age he may take part in the preparatory military instruction, organized and directed by officers who voluntarily give all their Sundays to this service. Here, again, there is no obligation. This preparatory instruction, in which the young man learns the manual of arms, may be pursued or not as he chooses.

But at nineteen years of age every Swiss *must* submit himself to a so-called sanitary inspection. This means, however, a double examination, mental as well as physical, the first being in reading, composition, arithmetic, and civic instruction. The results of these examinations are published every year, and

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enable every citizen to know just what progress is being made in each part of Switzerland. The twenty-two cantons [or government districts] which compose the Republic are classified according to the averages obtained. This gives a healthy rivalry to all of the cantons and induces them to perfect the gymnastic and civic instruction in their schools.

The young Swiss now does his compulsory recruit service. Let us suppose—as this is the case with the majority—that he goes into the infantry. For sixty-seven days he learns how to be a soldier. This is a short period in which to finish a programme of military instruction and education, but it is nevertheless sufficient. Until a few years ago it was only forty-eight days long. The military chiefs having declared that it must be increased by nineteen days, the people were called upon to vote on the subject, and they voted in favor of this increase of their military expenses.

In sixty-seven days the Swiss lad learns many things. First of all he learns to obey. This is not the easiest task in the world, because, like the good republican he is, he wants to have his little say on everything, to express his opinions at all times, and in particular to criticise the authorities whenever he can. An under officer (who too is learning—he is learning how to be a chief) teaches him the various movements necessary in a military school. The officer bends the recruit's will to the exigencies of the drill. The officer explains how a gun should be handled. He shows the youth that he is clumsy and without experience, and that, to become a soldier, many habits of comfort and do-as-you-please must be given up. A higher officer supervises all this work of the first weeks of service.

The young soldier forms part of a section and of a company of recruits. He lives no longer by himself, self-centered in his own fantasies; he is part of a great family, a new family for him, the army.

This great family makes certain demands upon him which at first may astonish him. At night and fast asleep, he is sometimes brusquely awakened by the alarm; he has to throw on his clothes and go out to fight an imaginary enemy. He has to make long and tiresome marches in the dust of the country highway, his sack heavy upon his shoulders. He has to leap over hurdles. He has to perform maneuvers with his comrades at any order of his chiefs. He has to sleep in a room with twenty of his colleagues.

In the hours of study the officers explain to him why he has to submit himself to these exigencies of discipline. Little by little they bring him to submit himself voluntarily, for the good of the country, to the tasks laid upon him. Should he be recalcitrant, constraint is necessary.

The school of recruits comes to an end with the maneuvers. These take place generally in the mountains, because the ruggedness of the country makes it more interesting from a military point of view. Such a setting for the maneuvers also makes the greatest impression on the young citizen.

Now he is a soldier. He is a part of a battalion of the Élite, recruited in the part of the country inhabited by him and where he has many friends. He remains twelve years in the Élite, and during these years he has to carry out seven courses of annual service. Formerly these courses took place only every two years, but on the same day when the people voted to prolong the duration of the recruit school they decided that henceforth they should take place every year. This law, which dates from 1907, became effective after 1908 and has produced happy results. In two years a soldier may easily forget military discipline and has to be trained anew. To-day, thanks to the annual service, this obstacle has greatly disappeared. The annual training courses for the Élite have a very short duration—too short, in my opinion—thirteen days. I shall not be astonished if after the war the people deem it necessary to prolong them by five or six days. The courses comprise a repetition of what has been taught in the recruit school. In the first year the period of thirteen days is dedicated to the work of detail and of marksmanship; in the following year the great maneuvers of a division or of an army corps allow the superior chiefs also to acquire their necessary experience.

If our young soldier has not missed any service, he is free from military obligations during his last four years with the Élite. He is still part of it, but he does not do service. It is in this part of his life that he founds a family, or that he acquires an independent economic situation, or that he may dedicate himself to professional work without military preoccupation.

When he is thirty-two years old, he passes into the second class of the army, namely,

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the Landwehr, where he will remain until he is forty, and in which he is not called upon to serve more than two courses of thirteen days each, once every four years.

Finally, he is transferred to the Landsturm, of which he becomes a part until he is forty-eight, and in which he is subject only to inspection.

At forty-eight years of age he gives up his military duties, and his career in his country's service is ended.

Now for the officers. They are all chosen from the troops. Every Swiss officer has to begin by doing his soldier's service. This is a desirable principle, and from it there is no exception made in our country. Every officer's grade may bring supplementary duties which may be legally imposed.

It is in the Recruit School that the future chiefs are chosen. To become an under officer it is necessary to go through with a course of marksmanship twenty days long, and then through the Recruit School course in the capacity of corporal. In the marksmanship school those are designated who can go directly into the school of pupil-officers. This school lasts six weeks, and at the end those chosen are promoted to the grade of lieutenant. The young officers are compelled to attend the Recruit School in the grade of section-chiefs as instructors of soldiers. Afterwards they pursue the repetition courses as simple soldiers and have no supplementary duties.

The captains are chosen from among the lieutenants. To obtain this grade the lieutenant must have spent a month in the so-called Theoretical School (also known as the École Centrale) and the Recruit School in the capacity of commander of a company.

While officers are chosen without distinction of profession, it is evident that their military duties sometimes hamper their civil occupations. It is indeed only too evident! Excuse me for speaking of myself, but I am naturally the first example that occurs to me. I must quit this editorial staff [of the "Journal de Genève"] in order to put on my uniform; day after to-morrow I must lay down the pen to take up the saber, and give two months' service as commandant of my battalion.

Of course in time of war the obligations imposed on all are much heavier than in time of peace. The Federal Council of the Swiss Cabinet, in agreement with the Chief Commandant, raises the troops which he judges necessary for the country's defense.

On the 3d and 4th of August, 1914, as we have said, the entire army was mobilized, Élite, Landwehr, and Landsturm. These last two classes were freed at the expiration of a few weeks, but were again called to the colors to do service.

The Landsturm, which was at first sent to guard the frontiers, found its principal duty in the transport service for the civilians and the wounded of the belligerent countries.

The Landwehr, which, under the regulations of 1914, added a month and a half of service a year, was particularly busied with the work of fortification. As to the Élite, it has already done many months of active service, during which it has been able to perfect that which it had learned in time of peace.

But you will doubtless ask, Does not our country suffer economically because so many men are taken from their ordinary work? In ordinary times the Swiss public suffers little. The Recruit service of sixty-seven days' duration is at an age when the young citizen can without grave inconvenience leave his occupation for two months. As to the annual repetition courses, they are so very short (thirteen days) that their effect on commerce, industry, and agriculture is not noticeable; from twenty to twenty-eight years of age one can give up thirteen days a year to the country's defense.

Of course the circumstances are very different in the period in which we now live. General mobilization was ordered because otherwise the country's existence might have been imperiled. And if the country's existence is imperiled, every sacrifice should be made. Should the demands of commerce, industry, or agriculture lessen the force of our army's resistance? And if, because our troops are not enough in number, the enemy should invade the country, what would become then of our commerce, industry, and agriculture? We would have to endure the fate of Belgium!

There has, however, been a considerable effort made to diminish, as far as possible, the economical inconveniences which result from mobilization. For instance, while they are in service soldiers cannot be sued in courts of law for debt. The state and the various communes aid the needy families of soldiers, and public charity supplements any insufficiency of state action. In the most important cases, excuses for service are given so that certain factories may remain open, that commerce may continue to grow, and that there may be proper results of farm work.

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Hence, even in this troubled period, Switzerland, though entirely surrounded by belligerent nations, can continue to live protected by the rampart of her army. Despite any defects in organization, despite any errors, despite any infelicitous action, she has, up to the present, risen above the dangers of the world war. And if she has been able to do this, I do not hesitate to declare that it has principally been because of an army organized according to the system of universal and obligatory military service.

The nation as a whole is represented by the uniform worn by its masculine youth, youth who watch over its safety.

In such manner we have put into practice this principle: "If one wishes to be well defended, one must defend one's self."

THE CHANGE OF WAR MINISTERS IN FRANCE

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON

GENERAL GALLIENI has left the War Ministry in the Rue St. Dominique; General Roques has come in. M. Briand, Prime Minister of the French Republic, has told us the reason. General Gallieni is seriously ill; an immediate operation is necessary; it is hoped that presently he may come back again to active service. [Portraits of General Gallieni and of his successor, General Roques, appear in our picture section this week.—THE EDITORS.]

To understand the position of the French War Ministry it is well to keep in mind the organization of the French army, according to units of men. The first unit is the company, commanded by a captain, whose place may be taken by a lieutenant, so called for that reason. Companies are gathered in a battalion, numbering 1,000 men, commanded by a major, called in France "commandant," or by a lieutenant-colonel. Four battalions make a regiment, commanded by a colonel, who may be replaced by a lieutenant-colonel. Two regiments make a brigade, of 8,000 men, commanded by a general of brigade (a brigadier-general); two brigades make a division of 16,000 men, commanded by a general of division—the highest title in the French army list. Two divisions make an army corps, commanded by a more experienced general of division. These army corps, just before the war, numbered twenty-one, of which one was in Algeria, while the other twenty were stationed in the larger towns of France (except Paris): at Besançon, Nancy, Amiens, Rouen, Orleans, Tours, Bordeaux, and so on; each corps being raised by additions of cavalry and artillery to 40,000.

The ablest from among the corps commanders are drawn to the Superior Council of War, in the War Ministry at Paris; and this body of a dozen or fifteen experienced, able soldiers is the backbone of the Ministry of War. The work of the Ministry is divided among bureaus or committees, and over these preside different generals belonging to the Superior Council of War. The War Minister, who in time of peace is usually a civilian and a Parliamentarian, is the link between the Superior Council of War and the civil Government. When the war broke out, M. Alexandre Millerand was War Minister, and this post he held for several months, until the Briand Ministry was formed, with General Gallieni as War Minister.

One of the first acts of General Gallieni when he was chosen as War Minister of France in Premier Briand's new Cabinet was to give still more power to General Joffre—under whose orders he himself had been the day before, when Joffre was General-in-Chief of the French Army and Gallieni General-in-Command of the Defenses of Paris. It was in August, 1914, that General Gallieni was chosen for the splendid and heroic task of defending Paris against the invader; to hold the City of Light, through the long and deadly siege that the whole world, almost, then thought inevitable. The civil Ministry departed to Bordeaux, and Gallieni set about the task of defending the city, clearing his decks for action and getting into fighting trim. In an address of a few sentences, which compares with Lincoln's greatest, he announced his determination to fight "to the end," and he gave the last touch of perfection

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to the fortresses on which Joffre had worked as a lieutenant and captain of artillery in the years immediately following the siege of 1870.

Still the Germans were coming on, in those opening September days, with Joffre and his English ally still withdrawing before them. Then France's hour struck, and General Joffre won, along the valley of the Marne, one of the decisive battles of the world. In that battle Gallieni took no immediate part, yet his influence was felt, and felt in a startling and decisive way, at a critical point of the fighting. The German General von Kluck, leading the right wing of the invaders, had laid his flank open to attack, and General Maunoury, who preceded Gallieni as Military Governor of Paris, and now succeeds him once more in that high post, coming forth from the city with the Sixth Army, at the end of the first week of September, struck at General von Kluck, and struck hard, on the little river Ourcq. But Maunoury was outnumbered and himself in danger of being outflanked. He notified Gallieni, who replied by a maneuver till then unknown in military history—he mobilized every taxicab and automobile in Paris, filled them with picked troops from the Paris garrison, and sent them spinning along the road to Meaux. That turned the scale—on the Ourcq, on the Marne, on the battle plains of France; perhaps in the history of the world.

The invaders, thoroughly beaten in the greatest battle in modern times, fled back towards the Aisne, littering the roads and fields of France with the débris of their flight. The Military Governor of Paris, seeing the city free from instant danger, did not therefore relax his efforts; on the contrary, he set to work with high energy and determination to double the strength of the already strong defenses. New and stronger trenches were built of concrete; heavier guns were emplaced; houses, whole suburbs even, were swept away, to give clear range space to the big guns; triple entanglements of barbed wire were woven like a gigantic spider's-web around the city; every range before each of the guns was measured; the training of the whole garrison was daily perfected. A very sympathetic episode was Gallieni's reviewing of the Boy Scouts, who, had the city been besieged, might have played a conspicuous part of resourceful gallantry.

But the months passed, and General Joffre, having broken the German offensive on the Marne, was "gnawing away," to use his own phrase, at the German defensive in the north—testing new expedients, massing heavier guns, always carefully conserving his men—with the result that, in spite of her great initial disadvantage in population, being outnumbered by a full third by Germany, France is decidedly the stronger of the two in first-class troops, and is daily adding to her superiority in heavy guns. The outcome is that a second advance on Paris is hardly even a remote possibility, so that Gallieni's task in that field is done. The best testimonial to the efficiency with which he completed it was his choice, by the strongest French Ministry of modern days, as War Minister in this greatest of all wars.

Like Joffre, Foch, and Freycinet, Gallieni is a man of the Pyrenees—southern fire mingled with northern force. A graduate of Saint-Cyr, Napoleon's old school, he served, as did Joffre, Pau, and, among the volunteers, Kitchener, in the war of 1870; and after the war he played a great part in the colonial expansion of France—a very noteworthy development, in which the "vanquished" has been strikingly more successful than the "victor," for at the beginning of the present war France had between four and five million square miles of colonies, as against about a million for Germany. At the end of the war the disparity is likely to be far greater.

Lieutenant Gallieni, of the naval infantry, as he then was, was introduced to the splendid expanse and color of the Orient immediately after the Franco-Prussian War; until 1875 in the isle of Réunion, in the Indian Ocean; then, on the homeward journey, visiting the already ancient French colonies on the coast of Madagascar. He returned to France, but went almost immediately to West Africa, where France had a small colony, Senegambia, on the coast, the foundation-stone of what is now an enormous African empire, larger than the United States, and in the building of which Gallieni played a notable part. His greatest specific services were, first, the opening of a way through forests and mountains, from the Senegal River to the Niger, which Joffre was later to cover with a railway; and, second, the conclusion of a group of treaties, fair and generous, with the African chiefs in the territory between and along the two great rivers, thus laying a solid basis for future French control.

His work in West Africa ended, Gallieni went, with the rank of colonel, to the Far East, over against the Philippines, where his nation was acquiring a foothold in Tonkin.

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In one of his many admirable books he thus tells the story of his work there:

"On February 18, 1896," writes General Gallieni, "I landed at Marseilles, having just completed a long and arduous campaign in Tonkin. During four consecutive years the governors of our great Far Eastern colony—in area 256,000 square miles—had confided to me the task of guarding its frontiers towards China and organizing the military territories of Monkay and the Clear River. The accomplishment of this rough but interesting task resulted in the total disappearance of pirates who for more than two centuries had devastated this part of Tonkin. I also succeeded in establishing the most friendly relations with the Chinese authorities of Kwangsu and Kwangtung, and notably with Marshal Su, and facilitated the building of the railroad from Phulangthuong to Langsu. Finally, this period of active command and organization gave me an opportunity to apply a group of political and military measures which I had first given a practical trial in the French Sudan, and which, it seemed to me, must always give the best results in analogous circumstances. After four years thus passed in active service in regions remote and with few resources, I was looking forward with lively satisfaction to the prospect of a furlough with my family at Saint-Raphael."

But the holiday on the azure coast of the French Mediterranean was not to last. General Gallieni was asked to go to Madagascar as Governor-General, to take in hand the arduous task of completing French control and organizing security and prosperity. This he did with striking success, with a force at no time exceeding 12,000 men, attaining a success as complete as that of Earl Cromer in Egypt, along very similar lines. From 1896 to 1905 he ruled the huge island, which is greater than France, recording his work there in a charming book, "Nine Years in Madagascar." From it I take a brief quotation, which has since then gained an additional interest:

"In the month of December, 1899, a mobile corps of six thousand men sailed from France for Diego Suarez, and, on my request, a superior officer of engineering, a man of the highest merit, Colonel Joffre, was placed at its head by the Government, to direct the works of the place and to organize its defenses. . . . Mount Amber, covered with thick forests, cut by deep ravines, sprinkled with old craters, formed at this period an inextricable labyrinth of vegetation, into which even the natives hesitated to enter. In the course of my first visit to the mountain Colonel Joffre, who had begun the exploration of the forest, told me of his plan to build a road there, which would be both economically and strategically useful, and which would put an end to the isolation of Diego Suarez, and bring its territories into relation with the fertile and populous southern provinces. . . . Colonel Joffre had landed in Madagascar two months earlier, and in this short space of time had accomplished excellent work. . . . Colonel Joffre had adapted combined defensive and strategical plans to the harbor of Diego Suarez, and the work was already under way. He had also adopted the wisest measures to secure the lodging of the troops, and to preserve them from the extremes of the climate. He installed the greater part of the European force in camp on the northern slope of Mount Amber, at an altitude of three thousand feet, under the very best hygienic conditions."

On March 16 General Gallieni, as we have recorded, retired because of illness, and General Pierre Auguste Roques took his place as Minister of War. General Roques, it happens, has been for years closely associated with General Gallieni, and also with General Joffre. When, at the request of General Gallieni, Joffre went out to Madagascar to fortify the great harbor of Diego Suarez, Joffre had as one of his assistants the new French Minister of War, who, like Joffre himself, is an officer of engineers.

Pierre Auguste Roques was born in the south of France, at Marseillan, not far from Joffre's birthplace, at the end of 1856, Joffre being then a boy of five and Gallieni slightly older. Like Joffre, young Roques went to the École Polytechnique in Paris, graduating in 1874 at a time when Joffre was working on the new defenses of Paris. In 1888 Joffre, who had recently lost his wife, went with Admiral Courbet's expedition to Tonkin; Roques was also one of the party, and it was then that the two men first became friends. Gallieni, as we saw, has also served in Tonkin. In the next period Captain Roques served in the great French colony of Algeria; then, in 1892, he was sent to Dahomey, where Joffre also saw fighting, and where Roques was wounded, though not very seriously. Then came a period of work in

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Paris, at the Ministry of War, and then the journey, under Joffre, to Diego Suarez in Madagascar. On his return he served as Director of Engineer Corps at the War Ministry, with the rank of general of brigade. In 1909 he reached the rank of general of division, and served for two years as inspector of aeronautics. Then he had command of a division, and later of an army corps stationed at Limoges, in the west of France; and as a corps commander he saw his first service in the present war. He did so well that he was soon raised to the command of the First Army; and now, because of his high administrative ability, he becomes Minister of War.

THE PRE-NOMINATION CAMPAIGN

THE FAILURE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

THE recent meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Republican National Committee in Chicago revealed a bewildering hesitation about the selection of a key-noter as temporary chairman of the approaching National Convention. Nothing could more clearly indicate the uncertainty of Republican and National happenings within the next two months. Several of the members of this carefully selected Republican Sub-Committee—the member from New Jersey, the member from Oregon, and one or two others—uneasily contented themselves with outgivings of warning of the danger to the party from the nomination of a former rather successful Republican leader and President of the United States. For the most part, the meeting spoke its uneasiness, its vacillation, and its fears.

But there was one clear note from Chairman Hilles which ought not to go unheeded by the country. He directed attention to the utter collapse and fiasco of the direct primary in this campaign as an efficient method of selecting delegates to choose a President at the National Convention. I wish to invite reflection upon some of the points which he covered, and then upon some points which he did not cover. Chairman Hilles laid bare the utter lack of uniformity in the Presidential primary laws of the separate States, and the evils and absurdities to which they lead. For example, there is first the difference in time at which they are held. Elections for delegates are strung along from early March to early June. The final votes in one or two States will have to be wired in to Chicago after the Convention meets. And the result of these variations in the time of holding the primary election is that the flying squadrons of partisans, inspired by the atmospheric influence of the result in one State, rush on to another State to accelerate artificial sentiment there.

In many of the primary States there is an attempt to bind rigidly upon the delegates a preference as to candidates. It is not possible for any such iron-bound method to work. There must be a measure of flexibility in choice, else the National Convention can never agree upon anybody. In one State the law calls for the election of all delegates as delegates-at-large, which, under instructions of preference, practically limits freedom of action, gives preponderance to the influence of large cities in a State, and restores unit rule. In other States the unit is the Congressional district. In one State a man cannot be a candidate for delegate except with the consent of some avowed seeker after the Presidential nomination. If it should chance that nobody was openly seeking the nomination, that State might have no delegates in the Convention. In another State a man must declare whom he is for, and have his choice limited besides to those who have filed notice of candidacy in that particular State. In Ohio a candidate for delegate must have the written consent of his Presidential preference. In Minnesota he need not have the consent of the Presidential aspirant, but his choice is limited to the aspirants who happen to be running in Minnesota. In Minnesota also the delegate is pledged for one man so long as there is a reasonable chance of his being chosen. But the alternate, if for any reason he should be seated, is not pledged to anything and can

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vote for anybody. In Indiana the delegates are elected by a State convention, but in a State-wide primary there is a preference vote upon candidates for President or Vice-President. If one of the candidates gets a majority of the votes cast, the delegates must stick to him "as long as his name shall be before the Convention." In Massachusetts there is a merry whirl of chaos. Anybody in Massachusetts—Republican, Democrat, Progressive, Prohibitionist, or Socialist, barbarian, Scythian, bond, or free—may take part in the selection of Republican delegates, and so express his choice upon Republican Presidential candidates.

And this chaos of cross-purpose of course cries loudly for the uniformity and standardization which Chairman Hilles begs the Republican Convention to consider when it comes together in June. But it has also caused a great many persons suddenly to prick up their ears and consider what is actually going on this year behind the veil in the Presidential primary States. More States have the Presidential primary than four years ago, but there is far less understanding of it or interest in it than there was four years ago. Four years ago, when there was a clear line drawn between Taft and Roosevelt, between Wilson and Clark, between progress and reaction, the Nation was on the *qui vive*. This year the electorate is languid or perplexed.

What is the difference? And what is wrong? This year in the Democratic primary it is Wilson, and only Wilson. This year in the Republican primary no clear issue has as yet been drawn throughout the country, and nobody within the Republican ranks whom the Nation desires to be President of the United States will allow his name to go into the primary contest. Hughes, Root, Roosevelt—all have refused. What is the reason? The first test was staged for Minnesota. At once the line of cleavage was set up between the old-line conservatives and the liberal faction among the Republicans. And the old-liners said: "Go to, now; we will have Elihu Root for our standard-bearer in the Minnesota fight." And the liberals said: "We will choose Mr. Cummins." But Mr. Root, if he had been willing to be an avowed candidate at all, could hardly have been expected to be willing to risk the odium of an early defeat in Minnesota under the backing of a single conservative faction in that State. And so the Minnesota primary turned out to be uninteresting and farcical, and failed to attract the attention or the conviction of any considerable number of voters. No man big enough to be President would allow himself to be a catspaw of the inevitable factional quarrels which would string along through the various primary contests. Except when the single issue is big enough and the avowed candidates are big enough to fill the horizon of the popular mind without any reference to local factional quarrels, the primary seems likely to be of no use whatever so far as direct choice for the Presidency is concerned.

For the most part in this campaign the politicians in the several States are employing an uninterested and unappreciated primary for their own purposes. Does a great boss desire to retain his place as National committeeman? He uses the name and fame of the best candidate he can command to solidify delegations in his own favor. It may make him National committeeman, but it will have very little to do, and is intended to have very little to do, with making his candidate the choice of the National Convention. In the absence of a Nation-wide primary on a single set day, no man of the first rank would ordinarily trust himself to the scramble and the exigency of the outcome of separate State primary elections strung along over a period of months. It was only a great crisis and a great sacrifice that moved Mr. Roosevelt to do it in 1912. It was only the unusual combination of a great cause and the man that made it possible for him to use the primary situation, as he found it, with cumulative effect and power.

And of course, with one or two exceptions, the accelerated interest in "favorite sons" is very little more than a political shell game. Most of the "favorite sons" themselves know perfectly well that the lightning is not going to strike anywhere near them. And the people who vote for them know it, too. In commenting upon the results in North Dakota and Minnesota, where the contest was between Impossibles, Improbables, and Unknowns, and where nothing whatever is indicated by the outcome, the New York "Times" ventures this pertinent persiflage:

> Children "keeping store" or "playing horse" are a delightful spectacle. It seems cruel to ask men over twenty-one to go to the primaries for the purpose of giving a handful of other men the poor happiness of "playing candidate."

But the pale old appeal to local pride, to getting something for "our State," never seemed be-

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fore one-half so mean and spiritless as it does in this year of National crisis and of National need. But it is a good enough red herring for the politicians of a machine oligarchy to drag across the trail. It is dust in the eyes of party voters, while the professional managers quietly pick the delegates who are likely to be most serviceable to the inside manipulators of the National Convention. In the absence of a dominating issue or a dominating personality, "favorite son" delegations are likely to be of the tractable sort, who will readily stand outside without hitching while their leaders are conferring in Parlor A.

The whole Presidential primary campaign has fallen into a slough of despond so far as the people for whom it was devised are concerned. An invention of political practice to rescue political parties from the older and discredited method of the hand-picking of delegates for the National gatherings, it seems itself to need saving. The whole question of whether the change has been worth while is now before the country.

A few conclusions at once appear. If the invention is to be retained, there should be one National primary day. I do not mean that it is at all certain that the Nation-wide primary should be under Federal control. The State machinery is every year, or at least every two years, called into use, and there is no particular need of duplicating it once in four years by a burdensome and expensive Federal machinery which might become dangerous in the hands of one or the other of the two great political parties. But the impulse towards the uniformity and standardization of State practice should not be deferred beyond the next Republican and Democratic National Conventions. Fortunately the present chaotic system is as offensive in some ways to the politicians as it is in others to the people.

Furthermore, the National primary should be fundamentally for the free and untrammeled election of representative delegates only. So far as candidates enter into the contest, the vote upon them should be separate and should be in the nature of advice only to the delegates. It is usually impossible to know in advance who can be nominated or who ought to be nominated in the Convention of the whole party, and there is no safety except in a certain amount of flexibility as to final choice. The party voters of the different States may advise, but they cannot wisely command. They may suggest policies and candidates, but in the last analysis their trust must be in the quality of the delegates whom they take the trouble to bring to the front in their primary contests. It is more than doubtful whether a National primary upon candidates, except under the most extraordinary situations, will work in a country three thousand miles wide and containing a hundred million people. No nation in the world ever undertook such a political contract.

I believe that the largest unit deemed by political experience to be wise as a field for experiment in pure democracy is a unit of two hundred thousand in England. In this country in the separate States we go far beyond that, as, for example, in the State of New York, where, in a wildcat form of direct primary, we attempt to get the sentiment of a voting electorate of between one and two millions. And in New York the expense is enormous, the fraud practiced in securing vast numbers of signatures to petitions is great and growing, and the machinations of the professional political managers are only somewhat less easily accomplished than under the older convention system.

A leaderless democracy is a delusion. The need, in a vast country like our own, of a genuinely representative National Convention to debate and sift out policies and candidates, is becoming more, and not less, certain. We ought never to give up the National Convention for a leaderless National primary. A uniform primary, Nation-wide, is useful chiefly because it gives free opportunity, under a standard and official form of ballot, to select real representatives of the people in the National Convention.

In my judgment, in all our greater commonwealths, we shall, sooner or later, come back to the leadership of the State convention, the delegates to which shall be elected directly by the voters in the regular local districts. Within the smaller Assembly and Senatorial and Congressional districts, where the people are acquainted pretty thoroughly with one another, the need for the guidance and leadership of political sentiment is not so apparent. But as soon as the physical area becomes large, the demand for representative leadership and for representative preliminary conference increases by leaps and bounds. The great defect of the direct primary idea has been in its failure to take into account the necessity for leadership. There will never be a democracy so perfect or so pure that

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the function of leadership will not be of the highest value.

Governor Hughes saw this when he was at work upon the system for the State of New York. His plan was to bring the existing political organization out into the light of day by making it necessary, first, for the leaders of the organization to be elected directly by the people, and then he wished to use the direct primary further only as a referendum upon the suggestions of these directly elected leaders. At once, by this plan, he put responsible leadership in its proper place in a democracy, and he also made it usually unnecessary that there should be vast and separate and competing expenditures in connection with primary elections. The people would have to fight only when their directly elected leaders failed to do their duty. The direct primary, according to Governor Hughes, was a gun behind the door, and not a burdensome or complicated and vastly expensive political system. It was therefore precisely the kind that political bosses do not wish, and so was beaten by the combined efforts of the machines of the two great parties. When the demand for the direct primary became overwhelming and Governor Hughes was no longer in the leadership of affairs, the two machines put over upon the people of Governor Hughes's State a system which appears to have been designedly destructive of popular confidence and approval. And the political boss presides in the sub-cellar of the "unofficial conference" with greater ease than in Parlor A under the old convention system.

In New York and elsewhere in the Union the revolt against the cumbersome oppression and uselessness of existing forms of the direct primary is formidable and is growing. But the pendulum will never swing back to the ancient extremity of the arc. The people will never give up the principle of final control over who shall be nominated to public office. They remember the remark of Tweed that he didn't care who did the electing so long as he could do the nominating. But the immediate lesson of the current failure of the Presidential primary to reveal the political sentiment or policy of the people of the United States is that, as the time draws near to the National Conventions, means must be taken to make clear in other and more unmistakable ways what is the public judgment with respect to the National policy and the National leadership of the United States in the present crisis of the world's history.

THE NATIONS AT PEACE

BY ALFRIEDA MARIAN MOSHER

DIRECTOR OF THE EMPLOYMENT BUREAU OF THE BOSTON YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

For some time we have been publishing a series of articles on the European conflict under the general title of "The Nations at War." We print the following article (in collaboration and by special arrangement with our excellent contemporary "The Survey") because it shows so clearly by actual practice the simple human spirit which, if adopted in international relations, would enable the nations of the world to live at peace. A picture illustrating this article appears on another page. —THE EDITORS.

WHEN the war broke out, I was on my vacation. Being human, my first thought was naturally of my own interests, and I wondered how the war would affect the opportunity for work among German and French speaking young women at the Boston Young Women's Christian Association.

Nine years before, as a girl not so long out of college, I had come over to the Young Women's Christian Association to do some work in the Employment Department, and, as a result of my own childhood in Europe, had been able to help a Hanoverian governess and a Parisian lady's maid, recently arrived and speaking no English, to establish communications with the office.

Ever since German and French speaking applicants had been my special care. They came, as a class, from good families, and were well bred, intelligent, and efficient, fitted to act as teachers, governesses, nursery governesses, and ladies' maids in positions where their foreign tongue would be an asset and

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their unfamiliarity with English no particular detriment.

There is considerable demand for young women speaking these languages, and if the applicants were of good age—preferably twenty-five to thirty—of good personality, clever, and tactful, the employment phase of their problem was usually solved without much difficulty.

But the Bible has told us that man does not live by bread alone. Young women have likewise needs beyond work and wages. If they are to keep a sane mind in a sound body, they must have normal social relations with their kind.

These foreign applicants brought with them all the social needs and desires common to all young women, but on account of their different language, standards, and customs they were peculiarly cut off from natural connection with social life among us. How is a girl who speaks no English going to buy things at a store where only English is understood? How is the French girl, brought up to feel that no respectable woman goes out unattended after dark, going to interpret the motive of the independent American girl, who tells of going to the movies alone? How is the industrious German, who believes that by doing useful work on Sunday she is honoring the Lord's day, going to judge the Puritan New Englander, who thinks she honors the day by sitting apart in quiet meditation?

How were these people to find the chance for the right kind of social expression and social realization in Boston?

These were some of the questions that had come as a by-product of the employment work, and we had been trying to answer them as best we could while we were helping the girls to find positions.

As I thought this all over after reading the morning paper that first day of August, 1914, it seemed to me that the only effect the war could have on this phase of our work would be to curtail it, because no one over there would want to leave her people during such a calamity, and all the foreigners here would want to go home.

I came back to my desk August 10, and discovered that, while I had been considering what natural human sentiment would be likely to dictate, practical necessity had been shaping matters in quite a different fashion. There was no way at this time for these people to get home. If they should go, they would simply increase the number of those in need, unless they were fitted to act as nurses. The best way for many over there to help their own home situation would be to come here, earn money, and send it back. It was evident that the war was not going to hinder me in practicing French and German conversation, or the Bureau in furnishing French and German governesses, or the Association in trying to help the people from the countries with which the dearest memories of my childhood were associated.

So far the situation was unchanged. But as "my" people began to come and see me about one thing and another, I became aware of something new and strange.

I had always been in the habit of considering these foreign people as one group, having common problems and common interests, and they had seemed to feel the same way about it that I did. But that August morning when I came back from my 1914 vacation girls and women from different countries did not greet each other in the friendly way of former days, and while waiting they did not chatter merrily and sympathetically together in half a dozen different languages, for our German and French speaking applicants often included young women of Swiss, Italian, Russian, Belgian, Polish, and Danish birth, and many of them spoke readily three or four languages. Instead, they eyed each other silently, and on all their faces there were expressions that I did not like.

I knew then the task the war had brought the Young Women's Christian Association. Whatever the war lords and the war slaves might be doing in Europe, these young women were members of a community where every one was—theoretically at least—friendly to everybody else. The Young Women's Christian Association was interested, not in young women of any particular nation, but in young women. Be they German or French, Russian or Austrian, Belgian or Swiss, the fundamental problems of these foreigners are still common.

It was the same war that was bringing distress to them all. They were all troubled in the same ways. The anxiety on account of failure to receive news, the grief over the distress of their home land and their home people, was common. More than ever they needed to hold together and help each other. But how make them see it? That was our problem.

We few women at the Boston Young

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Women's Christian Association cannot stop the war, although some of us would gladly offer whatever power may be in us to that end if we could, but we decided that day that, as our contribution to peace, we would do what we could to bring into peaceful relations the people from the warring nations who might come to us, by trying to focus their interest away from the national differences that were dividing to the common human sentiments that unite.

When I went home that night and collapsed figuratively and literally at my mother's feet, I told her that this war would increase our work tenfold. She looked at me—in a way mothers have—and said, "You mean your opportunity."

In the weeks that followed, French, Germans, Swiss, Belgians, Russians, and others speaking French or German, and fitted for the line of positions we deal in, came to us in larger numbers than in any previous year. They were looking primarily for a suitable chance to earn money, but they were equally, if not more, in need of human sympathy and normal social relations. Many of them spoke no English. Many of them stood practically alone. All of them were accustomed to other food, other customs, other standards of living and conduct, than they were placed among. And every single one was in intense anguish of spirit on account of the suffering to which her home and her people were being subjected.

Two of the first applicants who came as a direct result of the war were an Austrian and a French Alsatian. Both had come to Boston on visits, and were expecting to return to teaching in the fall. But they could not get back. Neither could they get any word from home. We were able to help them both to suitable positions, and we tried to show them the friendly sympathy of which they were so sorely in need.

It was weeks before either received a word from her country, and the anguish they suffered while waiting for news was only equaled by the sorrow when letters confirmed their fears. They happened both to bring their letters to read to me at the same time, and, with the Austrian girl standing on one side of my desk and the French girl on the other, we read together of brothers, cousins, and near friends called to the front, of many already wounded or killed, of mothers, children, and old people left uncared for behind, of the train-loads of sick and maimed pouring in, of money and food requisitioned for the troops.

Neither girl could speak English, but each spoke the other's tongue, and in their common grief they became understanding friends, although at that very moment a friend of the one might be engaged in mortal combat with a friend of the other. They did not make the war. "We do not want it," both declared emphatically.

Of course we were never discouraged, but this little episode affected us like new wine. It demonstrated that the task that we had set before us was not so impracticable as some other people had tried to make us think.

Another large inspiration to us in those days was a French girl who came to America because she would disavow neither her German lover nor her French parents. She accepted enthusiastically our statement of our position.

"When you care for everybody on both sides," she said, "you can understand how it is that I can love both my fiancé and my father and mother. If everybody loved somebody on both sides, there would be no war."

This girl has been from that day to this one of our stanchest helpers. The mere fact that she is as ready to speak German as French, and doesn't care whether she is called Mademoiselle or Fräulein, is not without significance in these days when so many consider it a virtue to deny anything that would suggest friendly association with a hostile nation.

But with most of them it was not so easy. A French governess discharged by her Berlin employer at the outbreak of hostilities spent most of her time at the office wishing audibly all sorts of terrible catastrophes to the Germans in general and the Kaiser in particular. When the newspapers announced the Kaiser's illness, she was jubilant.

"I shall not pray for him," she said.

I asked her to come into the corner by my desk that has been denominated my "confessional," and tried to explain to her that a German and a Kaiser might feel just as badly when he was sick as anybody else, and we really didn't want any one to suffer, did we? She agreed it was hard for any one to be sick, and went back to the waiting-room to chatter with a compatriot also discharged from a Berlin family.

When they went by the office door on their

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way out an hour later, my wicked little Mademoiselle called out, gleefully: "Oh, yes, I will pray for the Kaiser if you wish, but I will not pray for his body; I will pray for his soul when he gets to that place where I wish him to go."

While these people waited for a chance to talk with me they knitted for their soldiers. It was over the knitting that we got our first "common touch." An old Swiss nurse, who chattered equally volubly in either German or French, could never decide and stay decided to which soldiers she would send the socks she was making. One day they were going to the French, the next to the Germans—just according as a German or a French girl or a bit of news from one side or the other had pleased or displeased her. Of course they all made fun of her, and she came to me.

"Tell them," I said, "that one soldier's feet are just as apt to be cold as another's, and you are knitting to keep soldiers' feet warm."

She told them dutifully. They all laughed together, and one seed of common interest was sown. We took pains to water it well, and it germinated and grew. It was not long before they all gathered in one friendly group, regardless of nationality. The members of the group changed daily as one secured a position and another arrived, but the spirit once awakened was passed on.

Several firm friendships transcending national alignments were formed over those knitting-needles. One of the most gratifying to us was between a Bavarian, whose brother was in the fighting line on one side, and a French girl, whose fiancé was in the trenches on the other. By the hour they would sit knitting side by side, often exchanging their work to show their sympathy for each other, now and then squeezing each other's hands, or looking into each other's eyes and saying in their meager English, "Is it not sad?" and "I am sorry;" or "I hope you get a good place first, but we will never forget each ozzer."

They have not forgotten. They are in positions now where they can rarely meet, but they send cards diligently. Whenever either comes to town she asks me about the other, and "her friend" or "her brother." When they meet, they embrace like a pair of school-girls, though they are women thirty years old.

One day a reporter called on me to know if what she was hearing was true. I said, "Come and see," and showed her these two girls sitting side by side knitting on each other's stockings in an alcove in our lobby.

"Do you like to come here?" she asked.

They nodded. They didn't like to exhibit their English to strangers.

But when she said, "But you can't be happy," Mademoiselle answered quickly, "It is true, we are sad, but we are sad ze same way, and we like to be sad togezzer."

And Fräulein added, "And dat makes it more easier for de two of us."

In being sad together many of our young women have found solace and a new meaning to life.

Another interesting episode was connected with a Parisienne and a Prussian. They happened to room in the same house, but they glowered at each other like a pair of Kilkenny cats whenever they met, and we confess to feeling "nervous" when they were in the office together. One day I told the Parisienne that Fräulein had received news that her brother was wounded, "And," I added, "you who have a brother fighting, too, can understand how badly she feels much better than I who have no brother at all."

Mademoiselle tossed her head. That night she was awakened by hearing Fräulein sobbing. For a moment she forgot all about national differences. All she thought of was a girl in trouble. Fräulein couldn't speak a word of French; Mademoiselle couldn't understand a word of German; but the language of human sympathy can be spoken and understood by all. Mademoiselle went to Fräulein's room and comforted her. In the morning, when they came to our office, they knitted on each other's stockings while waiting.

The last week in October we started our parties. Any one speaking German or French was invited to come and spend a social afternoon in the Young Women's Christian Association lobby.

"What! Are you going to ask German and French girls together?" exclaimed one even of my fellow-workers when I announced the project.

"You'll be getting the Boston Young Women's Christian Association into the papers as conducting cat-and-dog fights," warned another friend.

And a third, who had been trying to the best of her ability all the fall to steer me between Scylla and Charybdis, said: "Now, don't you think you'd better start with the

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French on one afternoon and the Germans on another ?"

Then I brought down my fist and said: "*No;* they will come together, or they'll not come at all. Asking them separately would kill dead the very thing I'm trying to do."

It was on a Thursday we decided to have the party. We passed the word around informally, and on the following Saturday about thirty young women gathered. They included Swiss, Belgians, Germans, Austrians, French, one Russian, and one Pole. There was no definite programme. They knitted and talked. The conversation passed readily from one language to another. Two or three played the piano, and everybody helped everybody else to tea, coffee, and cake. Perfectly informal, perfectly impromptu, it all appeared, but we who were in the "inner circle" knew how carefully the introductions were made, how conversations were watched and guided and interrupted, and how our guests were "promoted" from one group to another as we thought they were ready for it.

There was no question about our having another party, and with the exception of the two summer months when our constituency was mostly away in the country, we have had them the last Thursday of every month since. We have averaged about forty. The high-water mark for numbers was reached in October with sixty.

The informal, impromptu nature of the first party has been adhered to. At first we said that any French or German speaking woman registering with us was invited with her friends. Then we included Italians and Spanish, and now representatives of every European nation may be looked for at our foreign parties.

When a French girl said that she would like to bring her married sister—but there was the baby—we said, "Bring the baby too." Since then we have invariably had children, and children are great cultivators of the spirit of broad friendship! All babies coo and cry in the same way, and when children slip and stumble on our polished floor every one runs to pick them up and comfort them, regardless as to whether they are Allies or Teutons.

When Fräulein came to a party shortly after her arrival from Berlin, bristling with Prussian militarism, I put her most carefully between two compatriots who were imbued with our spirit, and introduced her neither to any French person present, though she spoke French perfectly, nor to the German who, with her husband, had just been held for four months as a spy in Canada. While I was wondering how I should ever get her through the afternoon, in addition to trying to manage a dozen other problems already present, little Alice, our dainty little lame four-year-old French girl, came in with her mother. Alice was irresistible, and Fräulein sprang up and gathered her in her arms. I had no more trouble on that score, and the following Sunday Fräulein met Alice and her mother and went with them to the French church.

Our hardest party was the one following the Lusitania disaster. Feeling was tense. I know of some who stayed away because they feared their feelings would mar the harmony of the gathering. That afternoon there were a few moments when I feared our record might be broken, but the trouble was not between representatives of opposing nations. It was between two Germans who could not see the disaster from the same standpoint. And it was a Belgian whose own family were among the severe sufferers who restored harmony.

When outsiders really discovered that it was not a series of international wrangles we were conducting, but peaceable assemblies of charming young women, they began to open their homes to us. My parents were the first to venture, and forty of "my people" spent an informal evening at our house, looking at pictures and souvenirs from their own home lands. We had the flags of their different countries draped in the dining-room, with the American flag in the center.

Said my mother to one, "Do you find your flag ?"

"Yes," she answered; "there it is," and she pointed to the Stars and Stripes. "That flag does not make me think of war."

Then Mrs. Oscar Stevens, of Cambridge, asked me to bring a company of twenty to her home. Among the number was a German woman speaking several languages, just arrived that morning. When I introduced her to a French girl, she said, "But how can I greet you ? Are we not enemies ?"

And the French girl, who happened to be the same one who a few months before had objected to praying for the Kaiser's health, answered, grasping her hand with a heartiness which gave her words weight, "Here none of us are enemies. We are all friends."

Later in the evening our hostess asked us

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whether we could not sing something together.

"Why," I exclaimed, "how can we? There is no language all of us speak."

"But," suggested a French girl, "tunes are the same, and there ought to be a tune we all know even if we have to sing different words."

"Everybody knows 'Holy Night,'" said a woman of large musical ability, born in Russia, of English and German parentage, with own cousins in each of the three armies.

She sat down at the piano and began to play the song. An American concert singer with a rare voice, invited in for the occasion, stood by her and led. One after another the others joined, till French, Swiss, German, Austrian, Belgian, Pole, Russian, and Italian were all singing together the same message to the same music—but each in her own tongue. Said the newly arrived German teacher to my mother, "I did not know that such a thing was possible anywhere in the world at this time."

Late this fall another woman came fresh from the field of war. She was French, highly educated, with a charming personality. She had traveled a great deal, and was familiar with several European countries and languages. A party was due in the afternoon. I asked her to come. She was horrified. "Come and give the hand to the enemies of my country? What self-respecting person could do such a thing?"

Each newcomer means new labor—my mother says, new opportunity. The waiting-room was full of people waiting for me, but I could not let this woman pass through our office without doing what I could to show her another attitude in view of the conflict. I told her of my own happy childhood spent partly in Germany and partly in France; how I had loved the people and the languages of both lands just the same, and how badly I felt now to think of either land or people in distress. I said they might be different in being born German or French, but they were all alike in being people and in suffering on account of this dreadful war.

After a while I reached a point where I dared say that it seemed to me that humanity was bigger than country, and that we met at our parties, not as nationalists divided by small grievances, but as people bound together by common human griefs and needs.

She said she would go home and think it over.

In the afternoon she was among the first at the party. She quickly gathered an international group about her, and our cause advanced by leaps and bounds under her magnetic human touch. French and Prussian, Austrian and Italian, expressed equal regret when, inquiring for her at our next party, they were told that she had taken a position in New York.

At our Christmas party practically every European state was represented. One little girl sang in French, and two others sang in German. Then the children drank "cambric tea" together and distributed the simple gifts from the tree impartially to the grown-ups.

After the artist had grouped us for the picture, thinking only of the effect, I noticed that the line ran like this: German, Swiss, French, Swiss, Irish, Belgian, French provinces (St. Pierre, Miquelon), Austrian, Spanish, Swiss, French, Austrian, French, German, Greek, Belgian, Greek, while other nationalities present did not appear.

I was on the point of suggesting that we regroup with regard to nationality, when suddenly I realized that our grouping at this time, without giving the matter of nationality a thought, was a practical realization of what we had been trying for. It was not a picture of representatives of warring nations that was being taken, but of people come together in memory of the Prince of Peace. It was a dream for a moment come true.

When the picture of the tree was taken, it just happened to be a German girl who was able to persuade the little French maiden who was afraid of the flashlight to sit on her lap and be in the picture too.

We do not expect that our parties will stop the carnage abroad. We have no intention of chartering a ship and trying to procure a hearing with Kaiser, Czar, King, or President, but we are sure that we are demonstrating that there is something so deep within every human being that no national or racial cleavage can touch it, and something so high above every human being that the most exalted devotion to *one* country cannot reach it.

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BY THE WAY

El Paso, Texas, has been frequently "mentioned in the despatches" in connection with the Mexican troubles, but its new high school building ought to give it celebrity of a different kind. The building, it is stated, is to be in the form of a right angle, 800 feet long and 83 feet wide, and is to have a stadium immediately in front, to seat 10,000 persons. Tunnels will connect the stadium with gymnasiums in the sub-basement of the school. An auditorium in the building will seat 1,500 people. Shops, kitchens, and a model bungalow are to form part of the equipment.

The hobo from the city has different ideas from the farmer as to working hours. The "Country Gentleman" says that a hobo got a job from a farmer in the busy season. He worked till half-past nine, then had his supper. At four the next morning he was called to get up. He ate a hearty breakfast, then started upstairs again, saying: "This is the best place I ever worked—two suppers in one night and back to bed again."

Paris is still producing some of the articles of luxury for which it has long been famous. A New York newspaper prints this advertisement: "Sets composed of finest handkerchief linen . . . and real Valenciennes lace have just arrived from Paris. One four-piece set has an under-bodice entirely of Irish lace. . . . The set of four pieces is $475."

Most readers, when they see an essay entitled "Laughter," are apt to skip the philosophy at first and turn to the jokes. Following this plan, two domestic jokes may be selected from Professor Patrick's "Psychology of Relaxation:" "The Waitress—'And how did you find the apple pie, sir?' The Diner—'I moved the bit of cheese aside and there it was.'" "Wife—'Wake up, John! there are burglars in the pantry eating my mince pies.' John—'Well, it doesn't matter, does it, so long as they don't die in the house?'" Familiar subjects such as these are quoted by Professor Patrick as having furnished much of English humor: the mother-in-law, the goat, the stove-pipe, inebriety, and the banana peel.

"Life" amusingly hits off the fashion of cigarette-smoking among women of a certain set by picturing their descendants of the next generation puffing away vigorously at pipes and cigars and saying, "How *could* our mothers have been satisfied with cigarettes!"

The English automobile owner who is still at home instead of at the front has a hard time getting his car repaired. A contributor to the "Club Journal" says that when he drove his car to the factory (now busy on Government work) to see what was the trouble with it he got this response to his plea for help: "'It's no use,' they said: 'we can't touch it, we can't look at it; we are busy till midnight; we are always busy, we never get any sleep, we never get any meals. Go away!'" After a little persuasion, however, they took mercy on him and sent him off with a smoothly running car.

"Newspaper Editing," by G. M. Hyde, of the University of Wisconsin, gives some interesting facts about headline writing. A newspaper heading is called a "deck." There are four varieties in common use; they are called the drop-line, the pyramid, the cross-line, and the hanging indention. Here is a four-deck heading showing successively the above features:

NEW UNION DEPOT
HAS CLEAR TRACK

City Council Opens Way
By Allowing B. & O.
to Move Yards

ONE MONTH TIME LIMIT

Pennsylvania Road May Build
Temporary Freight Sheds to
Clear Canal Street so that
Work can be Started at Once

Dr. Virgil A. Davis, of Kansas City, has made a study of longevity recently and has found 672 persons in this country who are ninety years of age or older. The oldest person is Mrs. L. E. Killcrease, of Pine Hills, Texas, who is said to be 138 years old. A peculiar fact brought out in Dr. Davis's investigations is that many of these aged persons are users of honey, while they consume only small quantities of salt and pepper.

New York City is to have another magnificent church building—that which will house St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church. It will occupy an entire block front on Park Avenue, from Fiftieth to Fifty-first Street, and will probably cost over $4,000,000. The rector of St. Bartholomew's, Dr. Leighton Parks, says that this vast sum "cannot be raised on subscriptions of $5,000 and $10,000; it will require subscriptions of $100,000." The congregation believe that these sums will be forthcoming.

On page 601 of The Outlook for March 15 the name of the Judge of the United States Court for China, the Hon. Charles S. Lobinger, was misspelled "Solenigier." The mistake gives occasion for repeating the classic appeal to all correspondents: "Please write proper names very distinctly." In The Outlook for March 22, page 686, the names of John G. Brady and Andrew H. Burke, under the respective portraits of those gentlemen, were transposed in part of the edition.

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